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ABSTRACT

How teacher candidates are recruited and the quality of those candidates in Japanese education is investigated. Chapter 1 discusses the quality of teacher candidates and looks at the higher education system, colleges of education, and the quality of students in colleges of education. Chapter 2 examines teacher preparation curricula, the certification system, and the content of teacher education curricula including required coursework and specific courses in subject matter fields. Inherent problems in teacher preparation curricula are also discussed. Chapter 3 looks at the teacher employment examination including the function of the exam, recent results, the method involved, and various inherent problems. Chapter 4 investigates the function, types and quality, and evaluation of inservice teacher training. Chapter 5 examines the socioeconomic status of teachers. Salaries and allowances for public school teachers are presented as well as a comparison between teachers' salaries and salaries of other occupations. Chapter 6 discusses the future demand for teachers, the variability of the quality of teacher candidates, and the social and educational problems affecting that quality. A six-page bibliography concludes the report. (RSL)

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THE QUALITY AND SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS OF TEACHERS IN JAPAN

FINAL REPORT

Misao Hayakawa

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
Office of Educational Research and Improvement
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CHAPTER I

THE QUALITY OF TEACHER CANDIDATES

Just as the authors of The Nation at Risk examined the quality of the present American educational system and raised the need to start educational reform, Japanese educators have also begun to investigate the conditions of the Japanese educational system. In both countries, the quality of teachers has always been one of the focal points of educational reform. However, unlike American teachers, Japanese Teachers have been regarded with respect for their profession and the role they play in society. The status and quality of Japanese teachers has been steadily improving and new measures should be devised for further improvement of future teacher candidates. In order to demonstrate this thesis, this paper will investigate how candidates are recruited and what the quality of those candidates is.

The Higher Education System and Colleges of Education

It is well known that the eighteenth year is one of the critical periods in a Japanese young person's life. It is the age when about 1.5 million high school seniors must make decisions about their future plans. Some decide to work after graduation, while others choose to enter colleges and spend two to four more years as students. As of 1984, 41 percent of 1.5 million high school seniors entered the job market and 25.1 percent of them entered miscellaneous post-secondary schools and other training schools.[1] Those who entered colleges and junior colleges reached 29.6 percent of the total number of high school seniors. As these numbers indicate, more than half of all high school graduates are enrolled in some type of post-secondary educational institution. They decide to pursue their education in the belief that their choice will bring them higher socio-economic status and more privileges in the future.

However, as more high school students enter colleges, the more severe competition becomes. In Japanese society college entrance examinations play an important role in screening high school graduates. The entrance examination serve not only as a link between high schools and colleges, but also as a screening device through which only one-third of the total of all high school graduates can pass. It is often said the college entrance examination has become an inescapable rite of passage for almost half of the high school students in Japanese society. It is a focus of attention not only for high school students, but for the nation as a whole. In this sense, the college entrance examination is a nation-wide ritual.

For more than half a million college applicants, the choice of college seems to be closely connected with future employment opportunities. For many of those applicants, college is seen as a place where learning can be pursued in an effort to obtain a liberal education. Yet, colleges are also considered stepping-stones to careers in major companies and in the civil service. Competition for these jobs is keen and only a select few from the best colleges can pass through this very narrow gate. The

Japanese believe that one's success in life depends upon which which college one has graduated from rather than upon what one has learned. Because of this popular belief, high schools students are forced to compete with each other in order to enter the highly selective, prestigious colleges at the top of the college hierarchy. The hope of a job with a good company or within the government drives thousands of high school students each year through "examination hell."

Japanese colleges and universities have recently been criticized by foreign researchers and scholars. The main thrust of these criticisms is that, despite the excellent quality of teaching and the high standard of academic achievement in primary and secondary education, higher education does not continue and maintain this high level of quality. One well-known critic, Ezra Vogel, deplores the miserable conditions of a Japanese college education: professors are not eager to spend much time on teaching, the students do not study hard once the entrance examination is over and their attendance rate is usually low, and colleges spend little money on their facilities. His conclusion is that there is little which American educators can learn from Japanese colleges and universities.[2]

Nevertheless, we should recognize the positive aspects of a Japanese higher education. Above all, we should note that many Japanese colleges are, in essence, professionally oriented. Medical, law, engineering, agricultural, and education colleges are professionally-oriented schools offering well-structures, systematic curricula including lectures, seminars, field-work, experimentation, practica, and so on. For the pursuit of these studies, students are required to have a high degree of motivation and industry, as well as academic ability.

The following table describes the general characteristics of Japanese college applicants:

Table 1. The Number of Students Enrolled in Colleges and Universities(1984).

	Colleges and Universities		Junior Colleges	
	Number of Colleges	Number of Students	Number of Colleges	Number of Students
National	95	443,000(24.0%)	37	17,000(4.5%)
Public	34	54,000(3.9%)	51	21,000(5.4%)
Private	331	1,347,000(73.1%)	448	344,000(90.1%)
Total	460	1,843,000(100.0%)	536	382,000(100.0)

Source: The Ministry of Education, Mombu Tokei Yoran (Handbook of Statistics on Education), 1985, pp. 72-73.

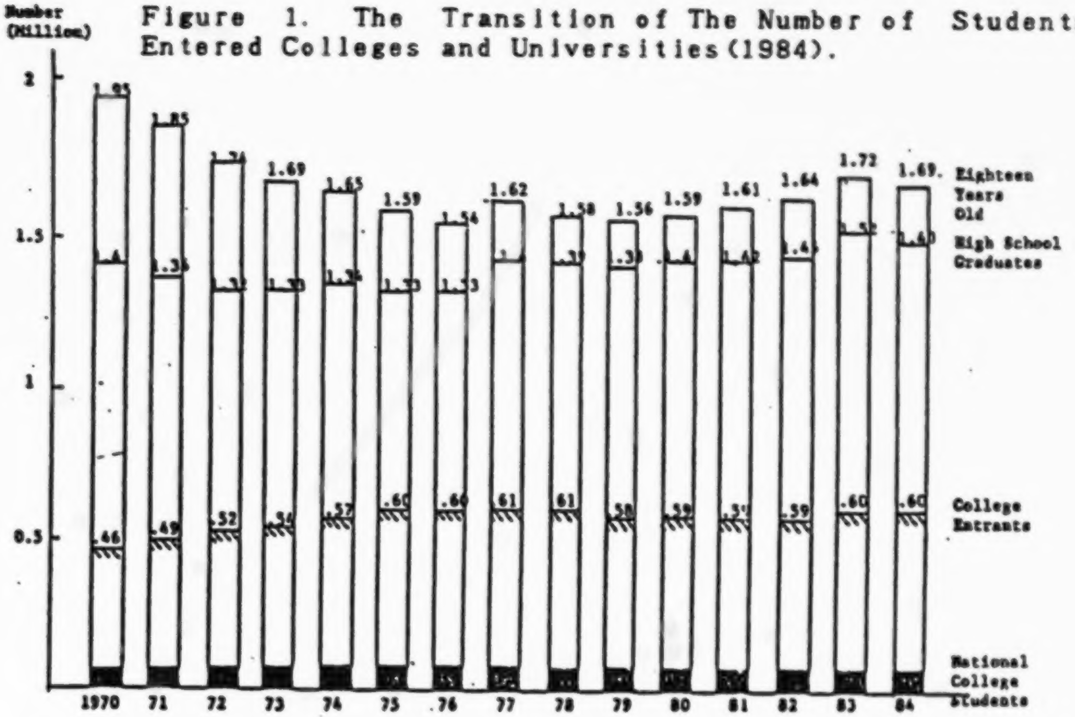
As of 1984, 2.22 million students were enrolled in 996 institutions of higher education.[3] Among these students, 1.84 million were enrolled in 460 colleges and universities, and 0.38 million of them in 536 junior colleges. Most of these students were enrolled in private colleges and universities. In fact, 75.9 percent of the 2.22 million college students were studying at private colleges and universities. 73.1 percent of 4-year college students and 90.1 percent of junior college students were enrolled in private colleges. Another feature of the college student populations is that those who major in the humanities and social sciences make up more than half (53.2 percent) of the total number of college students. The percentage rises to more than 60 percent if the students majoring in education (7.8

percent) are included in this group. In contrast, only one-third (32.6 percent) of all college students major in the natural and applied sciences. The third features which characterizes college students is that they are generally professionally or vocationally minded and sensitive to the changing occupational opportunities in the job market. Except in such fields as literature, the sciences, and the fine arts, most colleges offer sequentially ordered, rigorous course work aimed at the systematic mastery of knowledge and skills required for various professions. The total percentage of students enrolled in these colleges, which include law, business, education, engineering, agriculture, is almost 73 percent. Those students majoring in literature, science and the fine arts make up 21.4 percent of the total.

The college of education is one of these professionally oriented institutions. There are 65 colleges of education , 58 of which are national colleges. Only seven of these are private colleges. Most of these institutions are government-supported. 134,700 students are enrolled in colleges and departments of education, or 7.8 percent of all college students. The national colleges of education, which are mostly teacher-training colleges, have a total enrollment of 80,000 students. 54 percent of these students are female. For female students, colleges of education are the second most popular educational institution, the first most popular being colleges of literature. As of 1984, the number of new students who entered national colleges of education reached 21,400 and 55.8 percent of them were female.

Over the past ten years, approximately seven to eight percent of all college students have majored in education. This figure seems to be constant and stable. Although the total number of students who entered colleges of education has remained unchanged, the number of applicants who wish to enter colleges of education has been decreasing from year to year. As Figure 1 shows, the ration of high school graduates who wish to enter colleges and the number of students who entered colleges has been constant since 1975. Yet, in 1975 the ratio of applicants to

Figure 1. The Transition of The Number of Students Who Entered Colleges and Universities(1984).



Source: The Committee on the Investigation of Employment Problems at Kagawa University, Kyoin Yoseikei Daigaku.Gakubu ni okeru Shushoku Mondai nikansuru Chosa Kento Hokokusho (A Report Concerning the Investigation of Emplyment Problems Related to Colleges of Education), 1985, p.17.

matriculants to national colleges of education was 5.4:1. By 1983 that ratio had changed to 2.6:1. This decline is partly

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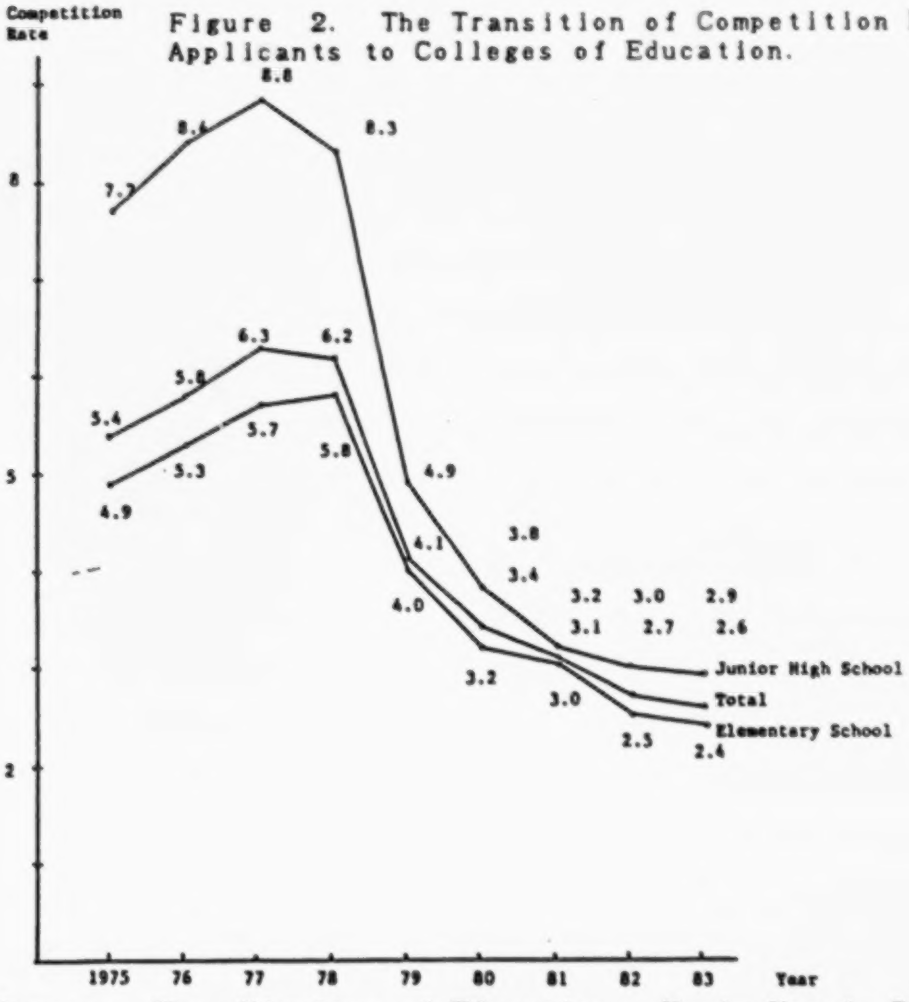
attributable to the increasing attractiveness of private colleges relative to national colleges. National colleges require applicants to take a sequence of two entrance examinations. Also, the gap between the cost of a national university education and a private university education has narrowed over the past ten years. Six years since the institution of the Common Primary College Entrance Examination required of all applicants to national universities, fewer and fewer students are opting for national universities in favor of private colleges.

Figure 2. The Transition of Competition Rates of Applicants to Colleges of Education.



Source: The Minsitry of Education, Kyoin Yosei Daigaku.Gakubu oyobi Fuzoku Gakkoto Shiryo (Collected Data Concerning Colleges of Education and Their Attached Schools), 1984, pp. 8-9.

Still, the above does not entirely explain the dramatic decline in numbers of applicants to colleges of education. Probably the main reason for the decline is to be found in the reaction of college applicants to forecasts of a nationwide decrease in demand for new teachers. While a detailed examination of this impact will be the focus of the final chapter, it should be noted here that high school students are very sensitive to their prospects for employment upon graduation from college. Their future careers very much depend upon which college they enter. It has been reported that a long-term decline in teacher employment opportunities will damage the repuation of colleges of education and in turn, the quality of future teacher candidates. However, it may be wrong to suppose that high school students, at the time of college entrance examinations, are fully aware of what job they will be aiming for upon graduation, even though it may be one of the main factors determining their selection of which college to enter. According to research conducted by Kawai Juku, Japan's largest chain of examination preparatory schools, there are three main factors determining high school seniors' selection of college: first, the appropriateness of that college to their aptitude and interest; second, the level of their academic ability; third, the prospects for employment after graduation from that particular college.[4] As this research suggests, high school students are more conscious of their own aptitude and ability than the availability of future employment at the time of the college entrance examination. It should also be said that, in Japanese society, the identity of the high school student depends very much on his or her demonstration of academic ability and excellence or gakuruyoku. As a result of the prevalence of this idea in high schools, Japanese secondary education is dominated by a spirit of meritocratic competition, a spirit which stands in contrast to the egalitarian principles of cooperation and solidarity which characterize primary education.

This respect for excellence and academic ability can be seen college admission policy. The most important factor determining admission to colleges is the score achieved in the college entrance examination. For college authorities the most objective criterion for admission is this test score. The admission of college applicants is decided soley on the basis of an "objective" test, which is seen as containing few subjective elements. Japanese colleges see the entrance examination as the fairest way to screen applicants. Such devices as letters of recommendation and statements of the student's personal history and experiences are not considered relevant in deciding the admission of the applicant. This is especially true of the most selective colleges and universities. Moreover, Japanese universities do not believe that the socio-economic status of one's family or one's cultural background has any bearing on admission.

As the college entrance examinations become more competitive, the prestige of the colleges grow. For talented college applicants, the process of getting into a top university becomes, in itself, a way of checking self-esteem and self-worth.

As the prestige of a particular college goes up, the competition for entrance into that college becomes even keener, thus catching students up in an ever-accelerating cycle of increasing competition.

Ikuo Amano classifies universities and colleges into five groups, using the "research" function as his standard.[5]

1. research university (24 universities)
2. doctorate-granting university I (121 universities)
3. doctorate- granting university II (35 universities)
4. master's degree-granting college and university (85 colleges and universities)
5. four-year colleges (178 colleges)

As of 1979, research universities, the oldest of all institutions of higher education in Japan, had the most desirable teacher-student ratio (1:15.2).[6] They also matriculated the highest rate of *ronin* students (students who have failed in their entrance examinations and are affiliated with no college or university). The former *ronin* students spent extra years studying in order to pass the especially rigorous entrance examination. Amano's classification system of colleges and universities corresponds to the stratification of college applicants according to the levels of their academic ability. Research universities attract the most capable students and, consequently, the best students attend them.

However, colleges of education which offer teacher training programs are not considered part of the research university system. Even though more than half of these research universities have colleges or departments of education, the departments were not founded for purposes of teacher education, but rather purposes of research into educational theories and practices. Most colleges of education which offer teacher training programs belong to doctorate-granting universities II and master's degree-granting universities. In fact, no colleges of education which train teachers offer doctoral programs, and only twelve colleges of education among fifty-eight national colleges have master's degree programs. Colleges of education which offer teacher education programs are basically undergraduate institutions. Therefore, the present task of colleges of education is to restructure and upgrade themselves into master's degree-granting institutions.

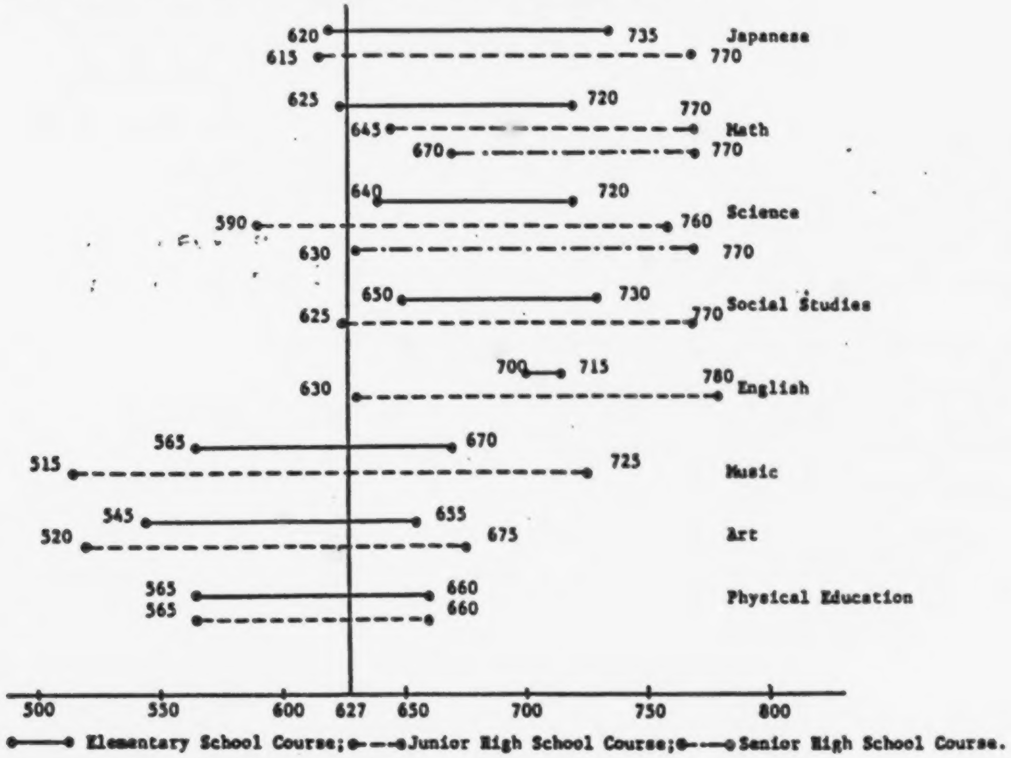
The Quality of Students in Colleges of Education

The easiest way to ascertain the academic quality of teacher candidates is to investigate the results of entrance examinations to colleges of education. In February and March each college or department of education is given an opportunity to hold entrance examinations in order to select its own students. This means that hundreds of college entrance examinations are held throughout Japan during this time of year. Although there are various kinds of college entrance examinations, there are two main types: national college and private college examinations. The main difference between the two is that the national college entrance examination requires applicants to take examinations twice, and the private college entrance examination requires only one sitting. For national schools, the applicants take the Common Primary College Entrance Examination in January which functions as a screening device for excluding less-qualified students. The second test is usually held in March. Most of the entrance examinations conducted by private colleges and universities are held in January and February. Based on the results of these entrance examinations and other related tests the major juku schools rate the academic quality of the successful applicants.

The ranking of academic quality of the applicants relative to national colleges of education can be examined using these data. Since the applicants enter national colleges of education, the results of the Common Primary College Entrance Exam will be used in the following analysis.

The college rating lists published by the major juku schools indicate that the applicants to national colleges of education range from those in the upper middle to middle percentile rankings of the total number of students who took the Common Primary College Entrance Examination. According to the data shown by the National Testing Center, on a scale of 1 to 1000 the average score of the Common Primary Examination conducted in January 1985 was 627.03.[7] 321,000 applicants who took this examination competed with each other for the 98,000 seats in national colleges and universities. The average score of the exam takers who finally matriculated to national colleges of education ranged from 771 to 603. The average scores of these applicants who major in various subjects are described in Figure 3.

Figure 3 Test Scores of Applicants to Colleges of Education in 1985 (Common Primary Examination).

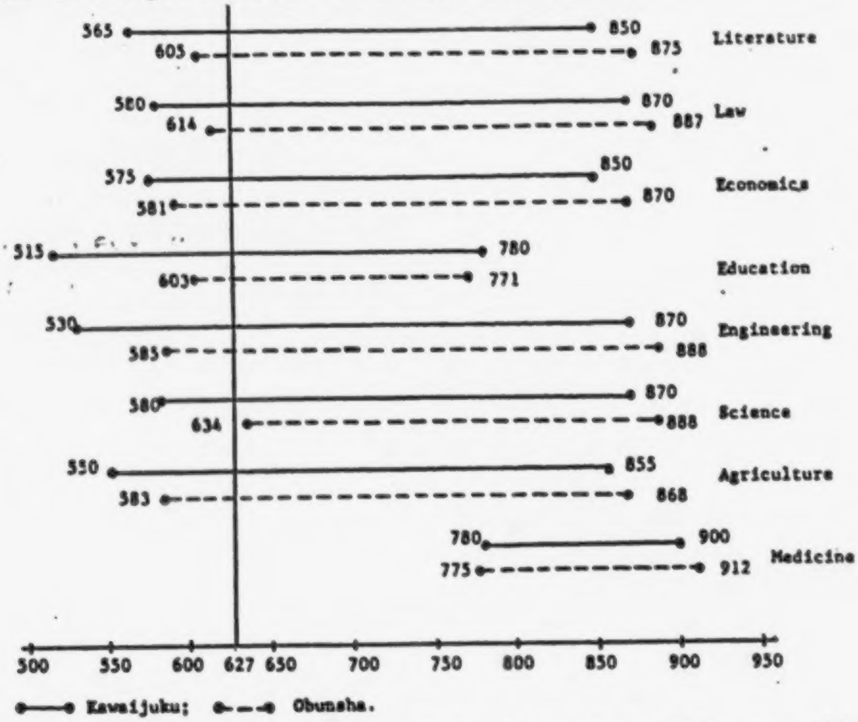


Source: Kawaijuku, Guide Line, July-August, 1985, pp.38-45, and Obunsha, Shin Gokaku Nanni Rankingu (New Selectivity Index of Colleges and Univerisites), 1985, pp. 26-27.

As this figure shows, those students who are majoring in Japanese, mathematics, science, social studies and English received the top scores in this examination, and belong to the top one-third of the total applicant pool. Those who major in music, art, and physical education are mostly average students.

The academic quality of the students matriculated to colleges of education, compared with the quality of the students matriculated to other colleges, such as literature, law, economics, engineering, the sciences, agriculture, and medicine is compared in Figure 4. Figure 4 shows the ranges of average scores of the students who entered various colleges.

Figure 4. Test Scores of The Students Who Entered Various National Colleges (Common Primary Examination).

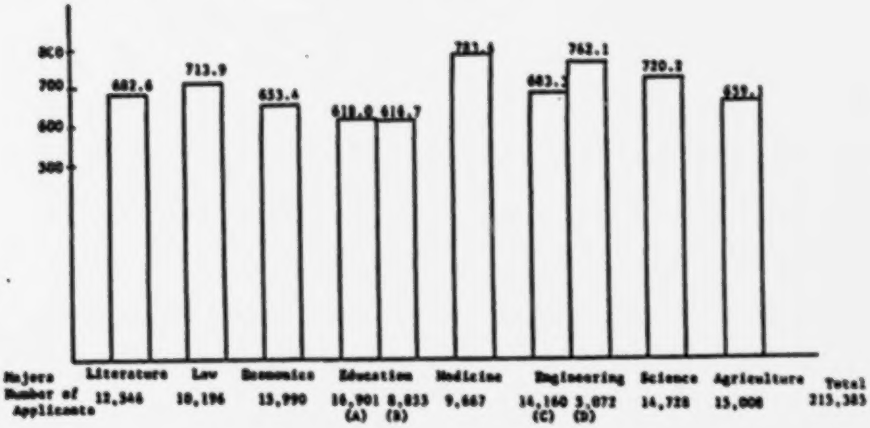


Source: Kawaijuku, Guide Line, July-August, 1985, pp. 34-83, and Obunsha, Shin Gokaku Nanni Rankingu, 1985, pp. 8-28.

Top-ranked students are relatively few in colleges of education offering teacher training programs.[8] This is mainly because the dozen colleges of education which belong to research universities are excluded from the category of "college of education." These colleges are rated as "highly selective" and the students' average score on the Common Primary Examination ranges from 850 to 750. If these colleges are classified in the same group with teacher training colleges, then the academic achievement level of students in colleges of education does not differ from that of students in other colleges, except medical colleges. The academic achievement level of medical college students is markedly high and they belong to the top fifteenth-percentile of all students who took the examination. They are excellent in terms of academic achievement and capability.

In contrast, students in colleges of education are characterized by a diversity of abilities and interests. As Figure 5 shows, the average examination scores of students entering colleges of education were lowest among all students who entered such departments as law, economics, literature, medicine, engineering, science, and agriculture. The result reflects the fact that colleges of education tend to attract students with ability in such fields as music, art, and sports, and whose general academic ability is lower than those of students in other fields. This tendency becomes apparent in the results of the secondary examination administered the colleges of education. For example, those who wish to major in education are required to demonstrate competence in modern and classical Japanese as well as in classical Chinese. Applicants who wish to major in math education are required to have studied three years of mathematics in senior high school, taking courses in arithmetic, geometry,

Figure 5. Average Scores of The Students Who Entered National Colleges in 1985(Common Primary Examination).



Source: Kawaijuku, PDSP Bunseki Deta Shu (PDSP Collection of Data Analysis), 1985, p.28.

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analysis, differential and integral calculus, and statistics. Those who wish to major in English education are required to have demonstrated competence in listening comprehension and speaking, in addition to reading comprehension and a knowledge of English grammar. Obviously, some mastery of basic skills and advanced technique is required of students wishing to major in music, art, and physical education. About one third of the 49 national colleges of education require applicants to take an essay test and eleven of them require some applicants to take an essay test. In this way, colleges of education implement various screening techniques to attract a wide variety of talented and uniquely competent students.

In recent years, college entrance examinations have been modified to attract a diversity of talented students. Some colleges have adopted the interview as part of the secondary examination in addition to the ordinary, more objective written sections of the examination. The interview is intended as a subjective but fair means to evaluate the applicant's personal ability and motivation for pursuing higher education and professional training. This method is widely accepted and used by colleges of education and medicine, both of which require a variety of personal abilities for their respective fields of specialization. Fifteen colleges of education use interviews as an essential part of the entrance examination and count them as part of the applicant's total test score.

However, the applicant's high school academic record is not considered an essential part of the university admissions process. Only six colleges of education take the high school record into consideration at all at the time of application. Moreover, letters of recommendation from high school principals and teachers are simply not used by colleges to determine admission. Further, little significance is attached to evaluations of the student's personal traits or experiences. It is clear that Japanese colleges and universities regard the entrance examination as the only significant and valid criterion for selecting applicants. The student's accomplishments during three years of high school are almost entirely disregarded.

Still, in comparison with other colleges within the university system, colleges of education succeed in attracting a diversified group of uniquely qualified students. This suggests that other colleges should consider using interviews and evaluation of high school records as part of their selection process. Such techniques may help to alleviate the excessive stress laid on written and ostensibly objective entrance examinations. By improving the methods of selecting prospective college students the connection between high school and college will be more clearly articulated and strengthened. At present, a host of social problems spring from the fierce competition in college entrance examination. A re-structuring of the examination system will surely go a long way to correcting some of these problems.

Summary

The college of education is one among several professionally-oriented institutions of higher education in Japan. Most colleges of education are financially supported by the government and administered by the Ministry of Education. College applicants are sensitive to occupational opportunities available at time of graduation from such professionally-oriented institutions. The recent decline in opportunities for new graduates of teacher-training colleges is influencing the choices of high school seniors and is causing a decrease in the number of applicants to these schools. The problem demands close examination since a decline in the number of applicants to colleges of education will undoubtedly have an adverse affect on the quality of future teacher candidates.

Colleges of education, the largest reservoir of teacher candidates, should transform themselves into more research-oriented institutions. As the college rating lists made by the juku schools suggest, the most selective colleges are those research-oriented institutions which offer full-fledged doctoral programs. The competitive college entrance examination system serves to maintain the high quality of Japanese college applicants as well as the hidden hierarchy of colleges and universities. Within this hierarchy, colleges of education rank fairly low. Most national colleges of education are undergraduate institutions, with only one-fifth of the fifty-eight national colleges of education offering master's degree programs. In upgrading their programs to include programs in graduate education, colleges of education will promote their research function and thus improve their academic status.

Data collected by the juku schools indicates candidates for admission to colleges of education tend to fall into the upper middle and middle middle strata of all applicants to national universities, totalling 0.3 million applicants. Evidently, colleges of education cannot attract the highest quality applicants. The average scores on the entrance examinations of applicants who entered colleges of education are lowest among students who entered literature, law, economics, engineering, science, agriculture, and medicine. The average score of those who entered colleges of medicine placed those students within the top fifteenth percentile, whereas that of applicants to colleges of education placed those students into approximately the fifty-fifth percentile.

Nevertheless, the entrance examinations devised by colleges of education seem equal to the task of attracting a wide variety of diversely talented students. In order to improve the quality of teacher candidates, applicants to colleges of education should have more carefully taken into consideration their academic and intellectual abilities, their personalities and levels of motivation, as well as any special talents they may possess.

Footnotes

1 The Ministry of Education, Gakko Kihon Chosa Hokokusho (Report on Basic School Research), Part I, Primary and Secondary Education, 1984, pp. 594-95.

2 Ezra F. Vogel, Japan as Number 1 (Tokyo: Charles E. Tuttle Co.: Publishers, 1980, pp. 162-63.

3 The Ministry of Education, Gakko Kihon Chosa Hokokusho (Report on Basic School Research), Part II, Higher Education, 1984, pp. 118-19.

4 Kawaijuku, 60nendo Nyushi ni Mukete (Toward the 1985 College Entrance Examination), Part I, 1984, p. 26.

5 Ikuo Amano, "Daigakugun no Hikaku Bunseki (Comparative Analysis of Universities)" in Tominaga Keii, ed., Daigaku Hyoka no kenkyu (A Study of the Rating of Universities) (Tokyo: The University Press of Tokyo, 1984), p. 70. According to this grouping, research university offers doctoral programs in all departments, whereas doctorate-granting university I offers doctoral programs in most of the departments. Doctorate-granting university II has doctoral programs only in some departments.

6 Ibid., pp. 70-81.

7 National Testing Center, 1985 Daigaku Nyushi Foramu (College Entrance Examination Forum), No. 6, 1985, p. 130.

8 Kawaijuku, PDSP Bunseki Deta Shu (PDSP Collection of Data Analysis), 1985, pp. 30-94.

CHAPTER II

TEACHER PREPARATION CURRICULA AND CERTIFICATION SYSTEM

It is often said that a Japanese student's college career is a time for rest and recuperation after years of "examination hell." It is a time to store up energy and prepare for a lifetime of hard work and struggle. This view rather over-simplifies the image of Japanese college life and seems to have been promoted by a number of foreign scholars. A typical example of this view is presented by John F. Zeugner, who asserts that "the transfer of knowledge is not the business of the Japanese university — the facilities are decrepit, the attitude toward instruction bankrupt, the responsibilities of faculties nil."[1] However, as we have already suggested, this view does not apply to students in colleges of medicine, engineering, science, agriculture, law, and education. The main business of these students is to master a body of theoretical and practical knowledge and the methods of research.

As with other professionally-oriented curricula, teacher education curricula are carefully organized and structured. This is especially true of curricula closely related to qualifiying for teacher certification. Upon finishing the required coursework, the prospective teacher asks the prefectural board of education to issue a teaching certificate. Thus, teacher education and teacher certification are inseparably connected. Colleges of education are geared to preservice teacher training and are qualified to offer programs of instruction leading to teacher certification. However, this does not mean that colleges of education are allowed the liberty of deciding the basic standards for issuing teaching certificates. These standards are determined by the Educational Personnel Certification Law and other related statutes. It is the responsibility of the Ministry of Education to insure the relevance of teacher education curricula to licensing criteria. In this way, teacher certification is regulated throughout Japan by the central authority of the Ministry of Education.

This is not the whole story. Colleges of education are not the only institutions qualified to offer programs leading to teacher certification. In addition to private colleges and departments of education, other colleges are recognized by the Ministry of Education as offering programs suited to the training of teachers. In principle, this policy gives every college student the chance to become a schoolteacher. Having a teaching certificate and a recognized undergraduate degree are the only professional qualifications for becoming a teacher. This policy is called kaihosei or the "open certification system." Through this system, more than thirty percent of half a million college graduates can obtain some kind of teaching certificate, although the number of those who actually do become teachers is less than ten percent of the total number of college graduates.[2] As a result, there is no shortage of teacher candidates in Japan. The real task is to insure and upgrade the quality of teacher candidates, a task which can be achieved through improving preservice teacher education and attracting better-qualified students to colleges of education.

Two Major Principles: College Education and the Open Certification System

The fact that more than one-third of all college students take some form of teaching certificate each year suggests that these students are influenced by the trend toward qualification through the taking of more and more credentials, the so-called cult of "credentialism." Colleges and universities have become, in effect, "credential mills." In actuality, colleges and universities are businesses and use the issuing of teaching certificates as one means of attracting clients, namely, students. While the open certification system has made the teaching profession accessible to many college students and the teaching employment system increasingly competetitive, the open certification system has also encouraged this cult of credentialism among college students.

As of 1979, 84.5 percent (375) of 444 colleges and universities and 84.4 percent (435) of 518 junior colleges were certified to prepare students for prefectural teacher certification.[3] The number of students who took teacher certificates is indicated in Table 1. As this table shows,

Table 1. The Number of Students who took Teaching Certificates in March, 1980.

	Number of Graduates (A)	Certificate Holders (A)	(A/B)	Those who became Teachers (C)	(C/B)
Colleges of Education	18,900	18,800	99.5%	14,100	75.0%
Other Colleges	339,900	76,400	22.5%	12,900	16.9%
Junior					

Colleges	159,400	76,000	47.7%	14,400	18.9%
Graduate Schools	16,000	3,300	20.6%	600	18.2%
Total	534,200	174,500	32.7%	42,000	24.1%

Source: The Committee on Employment Problems in College of Education at Kagawa University, Kyoin Yosei Daigaku Gakubu no Shushoku Mondai ni kansuru Chosa Kento Hokokusho (A Report Concerning the Investigation on Employment Problems Related to Colleges of Education), 1985, p.25.

almost all graduates from colleges of education took teaching certificates, and one out of four graduates from other certified colleges and universities took certificates. These data suggest that teacher candidates are recruited from various types of colleges and universities. Thus, the open certification system plays an important role in promoting a diversity of teacher candidates.

The open certification system owes its beginning to criticisms of the pre-war teacher training system. Before the war, teacher training was the exclusive province of the normal schools. After the war, the teacher training system was criticized by liberal educators in Japan and by the United Stated Education Mission to Japan directed by George D. Stoddard. Most criticisms of this system were directed at the characteristics of teachers recruited from the normal schools. These teachers were said to promote conformity and an uncritical acceptance of the policies of a totalitarian government which encouraged the development of a militaristic state. The present study does not undertake to examine the pre-war teacher-training system; suffice it to say that the post-war teacher education system was shaped largely in reaction to the weaknesses of the earlier system. The most significant difference between the pre-war and post-war teacher training systems lies in the post-war requirement of a university education. The pre-war normal schools were de facto institutions of secondary education. The third article of the Educational Personnel Law of 1949 made a university education a requirement for all prospective teachers.

According to Article Four of this law, teacher certificates are divided into two types: regular and temporary. Regular certificates are valid for life do not need to be renewed, whereas temporary certificates are valid only for three years from the time of licensing. Temporary certificates are issued by some prefectures when they cannot employ enough teachers holding regular certificates. Regular certificates are divided into two classes: first and second class. The basic qualification for holding a second class certificate or a temporary certificate is to have finished at least two years of college education and to have finished 62 credits of coursework, the minimum requirement for any teaching certificate.

The idea that teacher education should be given in colleges and universities was originally proposed by the U.S. Education Mission to Japan. In its report recommending the reform of the Japanese educational system, the Commission suggested:

> "Normal schools should be reorganized on a higher level so as to offer better professional preparation and a more adequate liberal education; they should become higher schools or colleges for the preparation of teachers. Although it may be necessary to certificate primary teachers at the end of two years, four full years beyond the middle grade or upper secondary schools should be offered by all the normal schools."[4]

This proposal was accepted by Japanese educators and government officials. Normals schools were transformed and upgraded to colleges of education or liberal arts colleges appropriate to the training of future teachers.

In addition to recommending the upgrading of preservice teacher education, the Commission also suggested a three-tiered structure for teacher education. This curriculum consists of three parts : "general or liberal education, a special knowledge of the subject matter, and a knowledge of the professional (educational) aspect of a teacher's job." In the Educational Personnel Certification Law, this proposal is interpreted as the following three areas: general education courses, courses in the teaching profession, and courses in the student's area of specialization (i.e., mathematics, English, social studies, etc.).[5] As for the actual configuration of these courses, the individual colleges are given wide latitude to design their curricula as they see fit.

Underlying the recommendation that teacher education should be pursued at colleges and universities is the belief that teachers should be trained in an atmosphere informed with the spirit of academic and intellectual freedom. It was this philosophy in the Education Mission's report which so attracted many Japanese educators. Colleges are free to design their own curricula, the Ministry of Education's primary responsibility being the maintenance of basic qualification standards for teacher certification.

As the Educational Personnel Certification Law classifies schools into four groups, namely kindergartens, elementary schools, junior high schools, and senior high schools, there are four basic kinds of teaching certificates. Yet, within each type of certificate, there are two classes. Thus, in total there are eight varieties of teaching certificates issued. They are described in Figure 1.

Figure 1. Types of Teaching Certificates and Their Basic Qualifications.

	Kindergarten	Elementary School	Junior High School	Senior High School
Junior College	2nd Class P. E. S.* 18 Credits S. T. S.** 8 Credits	2nd Class P. E. S. 22 Credits S. T. S. 8 Credits	2nd Class P. E. S. 10 Credits S. T. S. A-20 Credits + B-16 Credits ++	
4 Year College	1st Class P. E. S. 28 Credits S. T. S. 16 Credits	1st Class P. E. S. 32 Credits S. T. S. 16 Credits	1st Class P. E. S. 14 Credits S. T. S. A-40 Credits B-32 Credits	2nd Class P. E. S. 14 Credits S. T. S. A-40 Credits B-32 Credits
Graduate School				1st Class P. E. S. 14 Credits S. T. S. A-62 Credits B-52 Credits

* P. E. S. : Professional Education Subjects.
** S. T. S. : Specialized Teaching Subjects.
+ A: Social Studies, science, technology, and home economics.
++ B: Japanese, mathematics, music, art, physical education, health, guidance counseling, English, and religion.

Source: The Ministry of Education, Education in Japan: A Graphic Presentation (Tokyo: Gyosei, 1983), pp. 78-79.

As this figure shows, those who have graduated from junior colleges are qualified only to teach students through the compulsory levels, that is through the junior high school level, but they are not qualified to teach through high school. Kindergartens are the main employers of junior college graduates, and more than 90 percent of kindegarten teachers are junior college graduates. Even though some junior college graduates teach at the elementary and junior high school level, in practice, the minimum requirement for teaching at these levels is a four-year university education.

The Content of Teacher Education Curricula

Our next task is to examine the content of the teacher education curricula offered at national colleges of education. This examination contains an analysis of the distribution and concentration of courses at several typical colleges of education.

The Required Coursework at Colleges of Education

As indicated above, the basic qualification for teacher certification is two years of college and 62 credits of coursework. Typical of this pattern is the coursework offered at two-year junior colleges. As for four-year colleges, these requirements are doubled and the students are required to take 124 credits in coursework. As of 1982, the minimum number of credits required for graduation from national colleges of education ranged from 124 to 159 credits for those students majoring in the elementary education, and from 124 to 146 for those majoring in junior high school teaching. To explain these differences in more detail, almost 65 percent of 52 elementary school teacher training courses require students to take from 130 to 139 credits for graduation.[6] Almost 60 percent of 50 junior high school teacher training programs require students to take from 130 to 139 credits for graduation.

Among these credits required for graduation, those in general or liberal education are usually taken during the first two years. The number of credits required for general education is from 48 to 52. Within this number, four credits are taken in physical education and from eight to twelve in foreign languages. The remaining 36 credits are taken in three areas of the humanities, social sciences, and natural sciences. The number of credits taken in the area of general education is similar for those majoring in elementary and junior high school teaching. General education is the common core not only for students enrolled in colleges of education, but also for those students enrolled in other colleges and departments.

One of the main differences between the elementary school teacher training course and the junior high school teacher training course lies in the distribution of credits in areas of specialization and professional education. Originally, the elementary school teacher training course was designed to prepare students to become all-round teachers who could teach all elementary school subjects such as Japanese, math, science, social studies, art, music, physical education, and home economics. Therefore, the main focus of this course is on the subjects taught in the elementary schools and on the study of educational theory, methodology, and psychology. The credits required in these subject areas amount to 50 or 60, and are all concerned with professional education. In a sense, those students enrolled in the elementary school teacher training course do not have a specialized major such as do students in the junior high school teacher training course. Since 20 to 30 credits can be taken as free electives, most of the students enrolled in the elementary school course take as a minor a grouping of specialized subjects offered within the junior high school course.

On the other hand, the junior high school teacher training program encourages students to master knowledge of one special subject area in depth. Since the main focus of this training course is the mastery of specialized subject, such as mathematics or English, professional education courses may be regarded as secondary. The junior high school teacher training program requires students to take 40 to 50 credits in their major field and only 20 credits in professional education subjects.

Thus, the main difference between the elementary education and junior high school teacher training courses lies in the requirement that junior high school teacher candidates become specialists in one major field, while elementary school teacher candidates are trained to become all-round teachers with mastery of a wide range of knowledge in various subjects. The difference between junior and senior high school teacher training courses is found only in the number of credits required in the major subject, the number required of prospective high school teachers naturally being greater. The following table shows the three types of distribution requirements for graduation.

Table 2. Three Different Distribution Requirements.

	General Education	Specialized Teaching Subject	Professional Education
Elementary School Teacher Training Course	48	29-34	47-54
Junior High School Teacher Training Course	48	21	58
Senior High School Teacher Training Course	48	19	62

Source: This sample is taken from the basic requirement standards shown in the College of Education Catalogue, Tokyo Gakugei University, 1985.

Specific Coursework in Various Subject Matter Fields

(1) The kindergarten teaching training program. This program is fundamentally similar to the elementary school teacher training program. Both program emphasize the study of professional education subjects, including teaching methods, curriculum development, and psychology. The prescribed curricula of kindergarten teacher training programs are composed of courses in three areas: general education, professional education, and kindergarten education. Kindergarten education subjects are composed of studies in early childhood education, developmental psychology, and kindergarten curriculum development. The typical organization of these courses is described in the following table.

Table 3. Typical Organization of Kindergarten Education Courses.

Subjects		Credits Required for Graduation				
		A	B	C	D	E
General Education		46	48	52	48	48
Professional Education	Foundations of Education	4	6	4	4	4
	Psychology of Education	2	2	2	2	2
	Child Psychology	2	2	2	2	2

	Psychology of Learning	-	2	-	-	-
	Study on Moral Education	2	-	2	2	2
	Educational Practicum	5	4	4	4	4
	Electives	4	4	2	-	-
	Health Education	-	-	-	2	-
	Sub-total	19	18	16	16	14
Kindergarten Education	Education	16	2	8	26	14
	Psychology		8	8		
	Curriculum Studies	18	14	20	12	16
	Teaching Subjects	16	16	18	16	32
	Sub-total	50	40	54	54	62
Free Electives		7	18	6	6	8
Thesis		6	2	10	6	4
	Total	128	128	138	130	136

Key: A: Miyagi Kyoiku University, B: Tokyo Gakugei University, C: Aichi Kyoiku University, D: Osaka Kyoiku University, E: Fukuoka Kyoiku University.

Source: These figures are taken from the 1985 College Catalogues of the five universities listed above.

The kindergarten teacher education program and the elementary school teacher education program share many courses in common. For example, many colleges require kindergarten education students to takes courses in six areas, with an additional eight courses required for elementary school education students. Thus, many courses in these curricula are designed to prepare students to take two types of teaching certificates, namely, in kindergarten education and elementary school education. Thus, students can prepare to take two or more certificates within the course of their university education.

(2) The elementary school teacher training program. The curricula of this program are, in most cases, composed of general education courses, specialized teaching courses, and professional education courses. The content of the specialized teaching

courses is composed of the eight subjects taught at the elementary school level: Japanese, social studies, mathematics, science, music, art, physical education, and home economics. Professional education courses consist of study in educational theory, psychology, values education, student teaching, teaching methods, and free electives. In addition to these subjects, students enrolled in this program take credits in minor fields, as well as free electives which can qualify them for an additional certificate. Since most students wish to take the first-class junior high school teaching certificate, students often take more than 160 credits, and sometimes as many as 200. The typical distribution of these courses is described below.

Table 4. Typical Distribution of Elementary School Teacher Education Courses.

	Subjects	Credits Required for Graduation				
		A	B	C	D	E
General Education		46	48	52	48	48
Professional Education	Foundations of Education	4	6	4	4	4
	Psychology of Education	2	2	2	2	2
	Child Psychology	2	2	2	2	2
	Psychology of Learning	-	2	-	-	-
	Study on Moral Education	2	2	2	2	2
	Educational Practicum	5	4	4	4	4
	Study on Teaching Method	16	10	16	14	(12)
	Electives	6	-	4	2	10
	Sub-total	37	30	34	30	36
Elementary School Teaching Subjects	Japanese	2	3	6	2	2
	Social Studies	2	2	2	2	2
	Math	2	2	2	2	2
	Science	2	2	2	2	2
	Music	2	2	2	2	2
	Art	2	2	2	2	2
	Physical education	2	2	2	2	2
	Home Economics	2	2	2	2	2
	Sub-total	16	17	20	16	16

Minor Subjects	16	24-26	20	26	26
Free Electives	7	10-8	2	4	6
Thesis	6	-	10	6	4
Total	128	129	138	130	136

Key: A: Miyagi Kyoiku University; B: Tokyo Gakugei University; C:Aichi Kyoiku University; D:Osaka Kyoiku University; E:Fukuoka Kyoiku University.

Source: These figures are taken from the 1985 College Catalogues of these five universities.

Most of the students enrolled in this course are required to write graduation theses. One interesting feature of these theses is that their topics are often connected with the students' minor area of study rather than their major area of study. This fact suggests that many elementary education students identify themselves with their minor areas of study (for example, Japanese history, mathematics, social studies, etc.) and are more interested in becoming certified to teach in the junior and senior-high schools. It would appear that, if elementary school teacher training programs are to be upgraded, curricula should be reorganized to lay more stress on specialized areas of study.

(3) The junior high school teacher training program. Students enrolled in this program are required to major in one of the special subject areas taught in Japanese junior high schools. These subject areas are divided into two groups: (A) Social studies, science, home economics, and industrial arts, and (B) Japanese, mathematics, music, art, physical education, health education, occupational guidance, and foreign language (almost

invariably English). In order to a acquire a first-class teaching certificate for junior high schools, students are required to take 40 credits of specialized subject matter from group A, and 32 credits from group B. They are also required to take 14 credits of professional education coursework. Though the specific coursework varies according to the major field of study, the number of professional education courses is nearly the same for all students enrolled in the junior high school teacher training program. Professional education course distribution at five national universities is described below.

Table 5. Professional Education Course Distribution at Five National Universities.

	Miyagi	Tokyo	Aichi	Osaka	Fukuoka	F
Foundations of Education	4	6	4	4	4	3
Psychology of Education	2	2	2	2	2	
Psychology of Adolescence	2	2	2	2	2	}3
Psychology of Learning		2				
Studies in Moral Education	2	2	2	2	2	2
Teaching Methodology	4	3	4	4	4	3
Practice Teaching	3	2	4	4	4	2
Electives	6	2	4		8	
Total	23	21	22	18	26	14

Note:--F=the minimum credits required for the acquisition of a certificate.

The number of credits to be taken in specialized subject areas is described in the following table.

Table 6. Credit Distribution in Specialized Subject Areas.

		Miyagi	Tokyo	Aichi	Osaka	Fukuoka
Major Field	(Required)	40	28-34	32	32	36
	(Elective)	13	30-24	14	26	16
Thesis		6	(4)	10	6	4
	Total	59	58	56	64	56

Of the eight major fields within the junior high school teacher training program, the following is a detailed description of coursework for five of them, namely, Japanese, mathematics, English, science, and music.

Japanese: The required coursework for students majoring in Japanese in the junior high school teacher training program consists mainly of four groups of disciplines. They are linguistics, Japanese literature, classical Chinese, and calligraphy. Three typical examples of the distribution of the prescribed coursework for students majoring in Japanese are described as follows.

Table 7. Distribution Requirements for Students Majoring in Japanese.

		Tokyo	Aichi	Fukuoka
Linguistics	Theories of Linguistics	4	8	4
	Seminar in Linguistics	2	2	6
Japanese Literature	History of Japanese Literature	4	8	2
	Seminar in Japanese Literature	10	7	14
Classical Chinese	Chinese Literature	2	5	4
	Seminar in Chinese Literature	2	-	4
Caligraphy	Practice in Caligraphy	2	2	2
Thesis		6	-	-
Electives		26	14	16
	Total	58	46	52

Students in this department take some elective courses which are more advanced and specialized. Such courses include phonetics, current problems in Japanese, Chinese philosophy and poems, and problems in the teaching of Japanese.

English: Most of the prescribed coursework in English in the three junior high school teacher training programs consists of the following three major disciplines: literature, linguistics, and conversation and composition. Some colleges include conversation and composition within the category of linguistics. The typical distribution of English coursework is described in the following table in three national universities.

Table 8. Distribution of English Coursework at Three National Universities.

		Tokyo	Aichi	Fukuoka
Literature	History of English Literature	3	2	2
	History of American Literature	3	2	2
	Lecture in English & American Literature	–	2	10
	Seminar in English & American Literature	8	8	
	Readings in English & American Literature			2
Linguistics	Phonetics	2	–	6
	Lecture in English Grammar	–	2	6
	Seminar in English Grammar	2	–	
	Lecture in Linguistics	8	4	–
	Seminar in Linguistics	–	4	–
	History of Linguistics	–	4	2
Conversation & Composition	English Conversation	2	2	3
	English Composition	2	2	3
Thesis		4	–	–
Electives		24	14	16
	Total	58	46	52

In addition to these three course areas of study, students majoring in English can choose among several more specialized courses. Some courses are related to the study of culture such as regional studies, comparative culture, and cultural history, while other courses available are in Greek, Latin, German, French, art, psychology, and religion. This variety of electives indicates the important function of English as the thing that unifies a wide variety of courses in the liberal arts in Japanese universities. English is considered essential not only for linguistic and literary study, but for the study of many other disciplines, as well.

Mathematics: Coursework in mathematics is divided into four or five subdivisions, depending on the university. These divisions are arithmetic, geometry, analysis, topology, and applied mathematics. Applied mathematics contains such courses as statistics, measurement, and computer science. Coursework is listed in the following table.

Table 9. Distribution of Coursework in Mathematics.

	Tokyo		Aichi		Fukuoka	
Arithmetic	Number Theory	3	Arithmetic I	2	Arithmetic I	2
	Set Theory	3	Arithmetic II	2	Arithmetic II	2
			Arithmetic III	2	Arithmetic III	2
Analysis	Differential & Integral Calculus	6	Analysis I	2	Differential & Integral Calculus	6
	Spatial Topology	3	Analysis II	2	Analysis II	2
	Integral Theory	3	Analysis III	2	Analysis III	2
					Analysis IV	2
Geometry	Analytic Geometry	3	Geometry I	2	Geometry I	2
	Linear Geometry	3	Geometry II	2	Geometry II	2
			Geometry III	2	Geometry III	2
Topology			Topology I	2	Set & Topology I	2
			Topology II	2	Set & TopologyII	2
			Topology III	2		
Applied Math	Statistics	4	Statistics	2	Statistics	2
	Measurement	2	Measurement	2	Measurement	2
			Mathematical Statistics	2	Mathematical Analysis	2
	Special Studies	4	Seminar in Mathematics	2		

Electives		24	14	16
	Total	58	46	52

Electives include courses in computer science, information theory, history of mathematics, mathematical logic, and mathematical planning. Even though such new courses as computer science and information theory are not listed as prescribed courses, they are clearly needed for any prospective mathematics teacher in the present information age. On the other hand, mathematics majors who take such courses also qualify themselves for jobs in high-technology industries. This drain of mathematics majors into the industrial sector is the most important reason for the shortage of mathematics teachers in Japanese schools.

Science: The prescribed coursework for science majors is divided into four sub-fields: physics, chemistry, biology, and geology. Coursework consists of the common prescribed courses for all students majoring in science and specialized courses for the four sub-fields. They are as follows.

Table 10. Common Courses in the Sciences.

Physics	Thermodynamics & Optics	2	Physics	4	Dynamics	2
	Electro Magnetism	2	Experiment in Physics	1	Electro Magnetism	2
	Nuclear Physics	2			Experiment in Physics	2
	Experiment in Physics	1				
Chemistry	Inorganic Chemistry	2	Physical-Chemistry	2	General Chemistry	2
	Organic Chemistry	2	Organic Chemistry	2	Organic Chemistry	2
	Physical-Chemistry	2	Experiment in Chemistry	1	Experiment in Chemistry	2

	Experiment in Chemistry	1				
Biology	Genealogy	4	Biology	4	Morphology	2
	Physiology	3	Experiment in Biology	1	Ecology	2
					Experiment in Biology	2
Geology	Minerology	2	Minerology	2		
	Geology	2	Geophysics	2	Astrophysics	2
	Geophysics	3	Experiment in Geology	1	Astronomy	2
					Experiment in Geology	2
	Sub-total	28		20		24

Table 11. Sub-major Courses in the Sciences.

	Tokyo	Aichi		Fukuoka	
Physics		Quantum Mechanics	4	Dynamics (Seminar)	1
		Electro Magnetism	4	Optics (Seminar)	1
		Experiment	2	Thermodynamics	1
		Readings	2	Hydrodynamics	1
				Nuclear Physics	2
				Solid State Physics	2
				Experiment	4
Chemistry		Physical Chemistry	4	Inorganic Chemistry	2
		Analytic Chemistry	2	Physical Chemistry	3
		Inorganic Chemistry	2	Experiment in Physical Chemistry	2
		Organic Chemistry	2	Analytic Chemistry	1
		Biochemistry	2	Organic Chemistry	2
				Experiment in Organic Chemistry	1
Biology		Histology	2	Morphology	2
		Embryology	2	Cytology	2
		Genetics	2	Genetics	2
		Physiology	2	Plant Physiology	2
		Physio-Chemistry	2	Animal Physiology	2
		Seminar	2	Ecology	2
Geology		Astronomy	2	Geophysics	2
		Geophysics	2	Oceanology	2
		Geological Paleontology	2	Minerology	3
		Minerology	2	Lithology	2
		Geochemistry	2	Paleontology	2
		Seminar	2	Crystal Optics	1
Sub-total			12		12
Electives	30		14		16
Total	58		46		52

Students are expected to take other specialized courses within their own sub-major fields as electives. These elective courses are highly differentiated from each other and enable students to develop mastery of their field to a satisfactory level. Although these science curricula are designed to train junior high school teachers, they may also be used to train high school teachers. as well.

Music: Unlike other students who major in Japanese, English, mathematics, science, and social studies, students who major in music are selected differently. They are required to show competence and ability in music as well as academic ability when they take their entrance examination. Similarly, students intending to major in art and physical education are required to demonstrate practical skills and ability in their respective fields.

Coursework in music education is divided primarily into four sections: vocal music, instrumental music, composition, and theory and history of music. Three typical examples of music coursework are described in the following table.

Table 12. Required Music Education Coursework.

	Tokyo		Aichi		Fukuoka	
Vocal	Solfeggio	6	Solfeggio	2	Solfeggio	2
	Solo	2	Solo	4	Solo	8
	Chorus	4	Chorus	2	Chorus	2
Instrumental	Piano	2	Piano	4	Piano	6
	Wind & String Instrument	2	Wind & String Instrument	2	Wind & String Instrument	4
					Concert	2
Composition	Composition	4	Harmonics	4	Conducting	1
	Conducting	2	Counterpoint	2	Counterpoint	2
			Composition	2	Composition	3
			Conducting	2		

Theory & History	Theory of Music	4	Theory of Music	2	Theory of Music	2
	Japanese Music	2	History of Music	2	History of Music	2
			Music Education	2	Harmonics	2
			Readings in Music	2		
Sub-total		28		32		36
Electives		30		14		16
Total		58		46		52

As these figures show, three-quarters of music education coursework is of a practical nature. The same tendency can be seen in the electives. Electives include courses in Japanese instrumental music, the music synthesizer, arrangement, acoustics, theory of modern music, and music psychology.

(4) The senior high school teacher training program. Essentially, most of the coursework offered in the senior high school teacher training program is similar to that of the junior high school program. It should be recalled that the first-class junior high school teaching certificate is equivalent to the second-class senior high school teaching certificate. However, several colleges have their own senior high school teacher training courses independent of the junior high school program. The main difference between the two programs is that students in the senior high school teacher training program take four or five more credits of either required or elective courses. The difference is more one of quantity than of quality.

Some Problems Inherent in Teacher Education Curricula

There are two types of problems associated with teacher education curricula. The first problem stems from the fact that many students take more than one teaching certificate, and the second is related to the quality of the curricula. The first problem can be found in every major field, while the second is peculiar to the elementary school (including kindergarten) teacher training programs.

Many students are apt to take as many teaching certificates as they can with the result that students are overloaded with coursework. It is taken for granted that the average student will take more than two certificates when they graduate from college. Research indicates that the average number of credits taken by students is from 160 to 180 and, in extreme cases, some students take more than 200 credits within four years.[7] Students hold an average of between two and three teaching certificates. Some students hold five teaching certificates. The following table gives a sampling of the ranges of total credits taken by students and the number of certificates acquired by them.

Table 13. Ranges of Total Credits Taken by Student and Number of Certificates Taken.

Total Credits:	136-160	161-180	181-200	More than 201
Elementary School Teacher Training Course	10.7%	59.1%	25.5%	4.7%
Junior High School Teacher Training Course	36.1%	39.8%	20.5%	3.6%

Number of Certificates:	0	1	2	3	4	5
Elementary School Teacher Training Course	-	7.5%	3.4%	76.0%	12.3%	0.8%
Junior High School Teacher Training Course	1.3%	3.9%	26.0%	54.5%	10.4%	3.9%

Source: The Japanese Society for the Studies of Education, ed., *Kyoshi Kyoiku no Kaizen ni kansuru Jissenteki Shohosaku ni tsuiteno Kenkyu (A Study of Practical Means for the Improvement of Teacher Education)*, 1980, p. 201.

A result of this pattern is that Japanese colleges have become known as "credential mills" by "selling" more than 150 credits to each "student/customer." With this glut of credits taken by students in colleges of education in mind, one committee studying the reform of the Japanese teacher training system suggests that the number of years spent at colleges of education should be increased to five and the required credits for graduated increased to 160.[8] However, the basic problem cannot be solved simply through institutional restructuring. A real solution will be had when students become satisfied with the academic standards of their education and no longer feel the need to obtain plural certification.

Secondly, the academic quality of education curricula is inadequate and is in need of further restructuring. Many critics of colleges of education point out the inferior quality of teacher training curricula to that of other curricula within the universities. This inferiority of education curricula is mainly due to the wide but shallow content of most programs in colleges of education. The core of the education curriculum becomes hard to find as the curriculum is broadened to instill expertise in a wide range of areas. The essential academic quality of study in the colleges of education of the eight subjects taught in Japanese elementary schools seems questionable. How best can the future teachers be prepared to teach these subjects? How can Japanese colleges of education be improved to produced better elementary school teachers? These questions remain open and unanswered.

In order to satisfy the intellectual curiosity and to broaden the interests of students in colleges of education, the "minor" system was introduced into the elementary school teacher training program. As of 1979, 48 of 51 colleges of education had adopted this system. Underlying the adoption of this system is the recognition among college educators that elementary school teacher education curricula are not of a high enough academic quality to attract and maintain students' interest and motivation. At the same time, this system enables students to accumulate more credits. The elementary school teacher training curriculum finds itself caught in a contradiction: the "minor" system is intended to motivate students in deeper, more academic directions, but it also contributes fuel to the credit-amassing game. Again, one way out of this vicious cycle is to make the core elementary school teacher training curriculum more attractive to students.

Finally, some problems inherent in educational practica -- student teaching -- should be mentioned. Since hundreds of students are enrolled in a college of education, and nearly all of those students are required to undertake some form of student teaching as part of the requirement for teaching certification, they must be distributed into quite a few cooperative and experimental schools in order to practice the skills they have studied in their college classrooms. Despite the goodwill and cooperation of the schools involved, these student teachers often get in the way of normal classroom activity and create a problem known as _jishu kogai_, or "student teacher pollution." These student teachers are not only from colleges of education, but from colleges of literature, science, and so on. Especially, those students who involuntarily participate in student teaching practica do a great deal of damage to the atmosphere of goodwill created by college educators and schoolteachers committed to the preparation of useful student teaching experiences. The Ministry of Education and other educational bodies suggest that the length of the education practicum be extended. This is plainly unfeasible, since the suggestion fails to take account of the intentions of the college educators who plan the practicum, the schoolteachers in charge of them, and the students engaging in them. The place of student teaching in Japanese society is a delicate matter. Everyone agrees on the necessity of student teaching, but no one can agree on the best way to carry it out. This is yet another question that awaits an answer.

Footnotes

1 John F. Zeugner, "The Puzzle of Higher Education in Japan: What Can We Learn from the Japanese?" Change, Vol. 16, No. 1, 1984, p. 28.

2 The Committee on Employment Problems at Kagawa University, Kyoin Yoseikei Daigaku. Gakubu no Shushoku Mondai ni kansuru Chosa Kento Hokokusho (A Report on the Investigation Concerning the Employment Problems Related to Colleges of Education), 1985, p. 25.

3 Ibid., p. 24.

4 Report of the United States Education Mission to Japan (Tokyo: The Oriental Economist, 1946), p. 41.

5 Ibid., pp. 38-39.

6 Shirai, et al, eds., Shiryoshu: Kyoinyosei. Menkyoho Mondai (Collected Data: Problems of Teacher Education and Laws Concerning Teacher Certification) (Tokyo: The Eidell Institute, 1984), pp. 115-120.

7 The Japanese Society for the Study of Education, Kyoshi Kyoiku ni kansuru Shiryoshu (Collected Data on the Problems of Teacher Education), 1980, p. 201.

8 Ibid., p. 202.

CHAPTER III

THE TEACHER EMPLOYMENT EXAMINATION

In 1985, 31,000 students graduated from Japanese colleges of education. 45.7 percent of these graduates found jobs in the public schools, while another 8.9 percent found jobs mostly as teachers in private schools.[1] Even though colleges of education were founded to train future schoolteachers, and even though most students in the colleges want to become teachers, almost half of them cannot achieve this goal. The open certification system enables graduates of other colleges to take the teacher employment examinations in order to become schoolteachers. Thus, every year more than 200,000 people compete for fewer than 40,000 jobs in the public school system. This competitive screening system becomes, in effect, the teacher examination system used each year by the 47 prefectural and 10 municipal boards of education each year. Ever prospective public school teacher must pass through this system without exception.

The Function of the Teacher Employment Examination

It is fit and proper that one of the main purposes of the teacher employment examination is to screen and select well-qualified recruits and to maintain the intellectual and professional quality of the nation's teachers. The existence of this teacher employment examination means that the acquisition of a teaching certificate does not by any means guarantee entry into the teaching profession, although the certificate remains the basic qualification. In 1980 alone, 174,500 students among the half-million college graduates acquired teaching certificates.[2] However, the total number of public school teacher applicants was slightly over 224,000 and only 41,519 of these were actually employed in the spring of 1981.[3] Clearly, far more people took the teacher qualifying examination than those college graduates who acquired their teaching certificates in that year. The teaching certificate, once issued, is valid for a lifetime. Obviously, many people who acquired certificates in past years take the teacher qualifying examination at a later date. This explains the discrepancy between the number of new certificate-holding college graduates and the number of applicants taking the qualifiying examination.

When a new teacher is employed by the public school system, he has the right to remain in the system until the age of retirement or until he voluntarily decides to quit. Public school teachers are governed and protected by the National Public Service Personnel Law and the Local Public Service Law. Teachers can be dismissed only under the following circumstances: (1) evident unfitness for service (e.g., commission of a crime), (2) physical and mental conditions which prevent the efficient execution of duties, (3) evident lack of ability, and (4) dereliction of duty (i.e., absenteeism).[4]

This lifetime employment policy is one of the attractive features of public school teaching. It is characteristic teaching has in common with other civil service jobs. At the same time, the policy makes employers, prefectural and municipal governments, very careful and wary in the selection of teachers. Once a candidate is employed as a teacher, that teacher will most likely continue working for the same school board for thirty-five years until retirement. Thus, the teacher employment examination is very carefully contrived to test the quality and competence of teacher candidates. Behind the teacher employment examination is the idea that a teacher's potential talents and personal traits can be identified at the time of employment, which is deemed as important as continuous in-service training and self-study in the years after initial employment.

The aim of the teacher employment examination is to select the most qualified teacher candidates. Toward this end, the examination should be fair and free of prejudice, bearing in mind the interests and welfare of the people whom teachers serve. All prefectural and municipal boards of education announce the methods of teacher selection in fairly concrete terms, affording teacher candidates time enough to prepare for the test. Applicants who achieve markedly high scores on the examination are given priority in employment. However, the specific contents of the examinations are kept confidential, and even the examination results are not released in detail. Through the efforts of private publishers, most of the written parts of the examinations are reproduced and sold in book form. Applicants who have taken the test are interviewed afterward in an effort to collect as much information about the test as possible. Nevertheless, the confidentiality of the test results is strictly maintained. Applicants can only learn whether they passed or failed, their actual scores kept a closely-guarded secret. Prefectural and municipal authorities report only the number of teachers actually employed each year.

In 1982, the Japanese Society for the Study of Education presented the views of various prefectural boards of education superintendents. The superintendents were asked what was their image of the ideal teacher. Some of the responses were: "teachers who can contribute to the next century of Hokkaido's growth" (Hokkaido Prefecture); "educators with intelligence and enthusiasm" (Tokyo); "well-rounded, integrated person (Saitama Prefecture); "individuality and enthusiasm" (Aichi Prefecture); "cultivated and experienced person" (Hyogo Prefecture); "a zealous sense of purpose and soundness in body and mind" (Fukuoka Prefecture).[5] These are some of the characteristics taken into consideration by boards of education at the time of employment. These characteristics can be demonstrated principally through four types of examinations: (1) the written examination of general and professional knowledge, (2) tests of practical skill and technique, (3) essay tests, and (4) personal and group interviews. The results of these tests are the criteria by which teacher candidates are evaluated.

Recent Results of Teacher Employment Examinations

The decline in the number of newly-employed teachers has become a well-known fact in recent years. Maintaining a balance between the supply and demand of new teachers has always been one of the main concerns of those who design the teacher employment examinations. While the number of applicants for teacher employment examination has remained stable for several years, the demand for new teachers in prefectures and municipalities has been in decline. This imbalance has made the examinations more and more competitive and, as a result, even the more competent applicants often find themselves having to repeat the examination one or more times.

In 1985, the total number of public school teacher applicants was 213,000, 88.2 percent of whom actually took the examination.[6] Of these 188,000 takers of the tests, only 20.3 percent were eventually employed as teachers in April, 1985. The ratio of applicants to jobs was highest at the elementary level, 5.2:1. The least competitive category was special education, with a ratio of 2.2 applicants to every one position. 50.7 percent of the applicants were female, while only 42.1 percent of those employed were women. The percentage of female applicants was highest among elementary school teacher candidates, 65.7 percent, while it was lowest among senior high school teacher candidates, or 30.5 percent. Similarly, women accounted for the highest percentage of newly-employed elementary school teachers, 51.3 percent, and the lowest percentage among high school teachers, or 23.4 percent.

Table 1. The Results of Teacher Employment Examination in 1985.

	Applicants	Examinees	Female Examinees	Employed Teachers	Female Teachers
Elementary School	65,860	59,394	39,048	11,386	5,839
Junior High School	79,023	69,223	37,044	13,485	5,607

Senior High School	55,199	47,771	14,578	10,368	2,426
Special Education	3,734	3,346	1,998	1,548	767
Health teacher-nurse	9,474	8,285	8,277	1,457	1,457
Total	213,290	188,019	100,945	38,236	16,096

Source: The Ministry of Education, Kyoiku Iinkai Geppo (Monthly Review of Board of Education), No.416, 1985, p.63.

There are 57 boards of education which annually administer teacher employment examinations. Table 2 indicates the results of those examination in 1985.

Table 2. Percentage of New College Graduates Among Newly-employed Teachers in 1985.

	Applicants		Employed Teachers	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Elementary School	25,899	43.6%	6,488	57.0%
Junior High School	40,146	58.0%	7,494	55,6%
Senior High School	26,865	56.2%	5,220	50.4%
Special Education	1,371	41.0%	741	47.9%
Health-teacher Nurse	4,422	53.4%	848	58.2%
Total	98,703	52.5%	20,791	54.4%

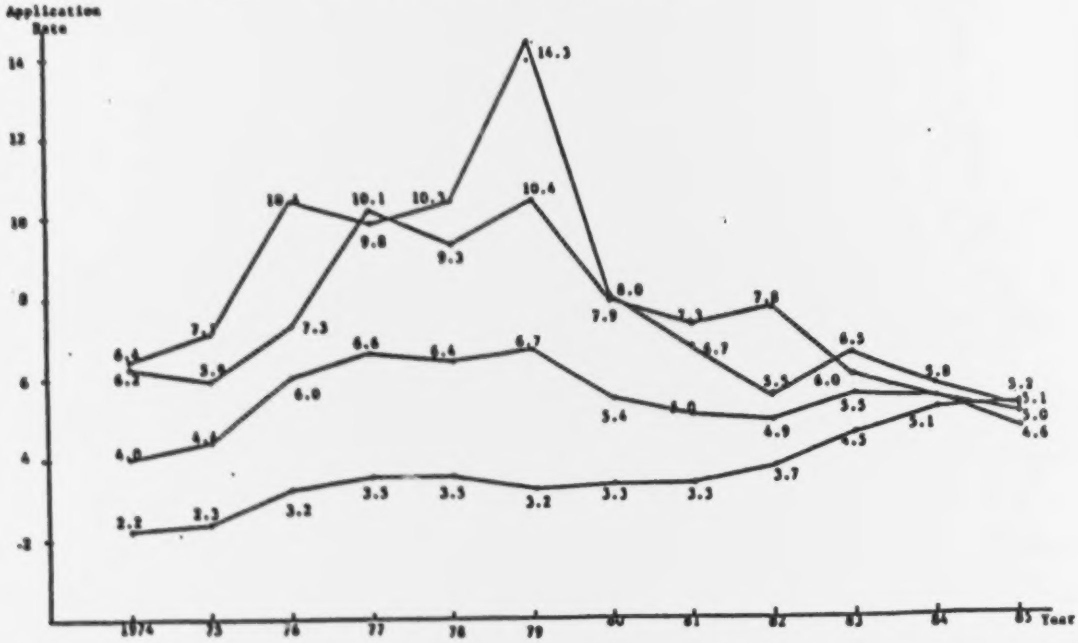
Source: The Ministry of Education, Kyoiku Iinkai Geppo (Monthly Review of Board of Education), No.416, 1985, p. 67.

Approximately 100,000 new college graduates applied to take teacher employment examinations, or about 52.5 percent of the applicants. New college graduates employed in spring, 1985 amounted to 54.4 percent of the total number of newly employed teachers. Most of the remaining 45.6 percent of the applicants probably had had some experience of taking the employment examination in the past and were sitting for the test again.

examination in the past and were sitting for the test again.

In addition to examining the results of the 1985 teacher examinations, we need to examine recent trends in the number of applicants taking the examinations. Figure 1 shows the transition in application rates for public school teacher employment over the past ten years. There are two turning points at which the rate of application shifted dramatically. After 1974, there was a sharp increase in the application rate until it reached a peak in 1979. During these years, the total number of applicants who took the examinations almost doubled from 128,000 in 1974 to 245,000 in 1979, while the total number of teachers employed during these years rose only 13.5 percent, amounting to 36,700 new teachers in 1979. The increase in applicants was due mainly to the enactment of the Law Governing Special Measures for

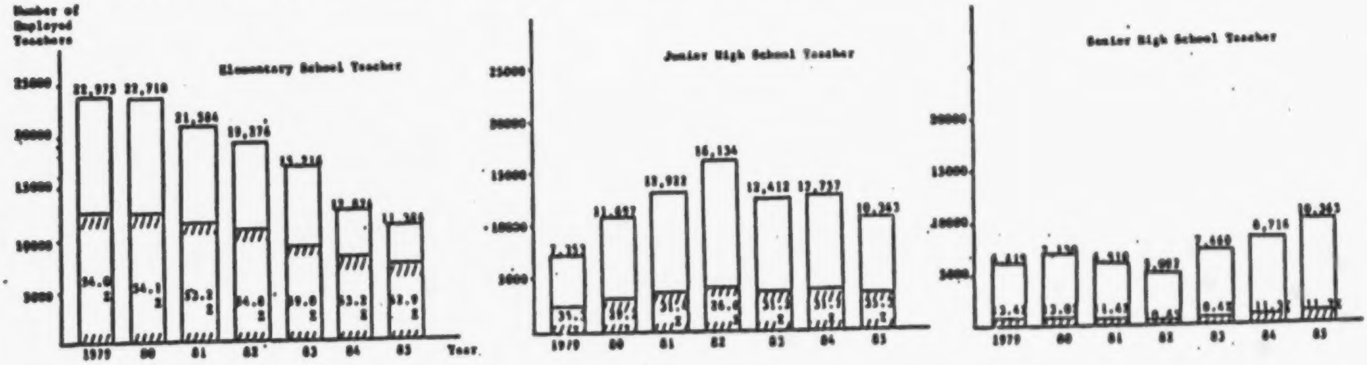
Figure 1. The Transition of Application Rates of Public School Teacher Employment Examinations.



Source: The Ministry of Education, Kyoiku Iinkai Geppo (Monthly Review of Boards of Education), No. 416, 1985, p. 68.

Securing Competent Educational Personnel in Compulsory Education Schools (1974). This law mandated increases in public school teachers' salaries, making schoolteaching a more attractive profession. However, since 1979, boards of education have been witnessing a gradual decline in rates of application, except for elementary school teaching. In order to explain this phenomenon, we need to examine other evidence of the transition in employment patterns through the various school levels (Figure 2).

Figure 2. The Transition of the Number of Employed Teachers in Elementary, Junior High, and Senior High Schools.



Source: The Ministry of Education, Kyoiku Iinkai Geppo (Monthly Review of Board of Education), No. 416, 1985, p. 68.

Conspicuous in Figure 2 is the dramatic decline in numbers of teachers employed in elementary schools during the six-year period. In contrast, the number of teachers employed in junior and senior high schools has increased throughout the period. Nevertheless, the number of elementary school teachers employed in 1985 was slightly less than half the number employed in 1979. Accordingly, the number of applicants for elementary school teaching decreased from 73,000 in 1979 to 59,000 in 1985, although the overall application rate increased over the period.

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The main reason for the decline in newly-employed elementary school teachers was the decline in the elementary school-age population. Fewer and fewer children enter Japanese schools each year. A consequence is the reduced demand for elementary school teachers. Further, as the demand for elementary school teachers sinks, the motivation for college graduates to take elementary school teacher examinations similarly declines. Within a few years, this trend will begin to affect the plans of college graduates planning on careers in the junior and senior high schools.

According to research conducted by Morikazu Ushiogi,[7] teacher demand for the next decade will be lower for the next decade than it was for the previous decade. From 1986 to 1990, only 22 of 47 prefectures will show a greater demand for new teachers than in 1980 or 1981; the demand of 18 prefectures will range from 50 to 100 percent of the demand shown in 1980 and 1981; 7 prefectures will employ fewer than half of the number of teachers that were employed in 1980 and 1981.[8] However, the situation will become even more serious in the years from 1990 to 1995. 37 prefectures will be able to employ less than 60 percent of the number of teachers employed in the years from 1980 to 1984, while only three prefectures will actually increase their demand for new teachers. In short, the employment outlook for future teachers appears very bleak. The coming decline in demand for new teachers will undoubtedly affect the quality of teacher candidates, encouraging them to seek other avenues of employment. Sooner or later, students at colleges of education will be forced to confront a serious unemployment problem.

The Task Before Teacher Candidates

Two Alternatives for Teacher Candidates

How best can teacher candidates cope with this grim employment situation? A solution to this problem can be approached from two directions. One way for the aspiring teacher to face the problem is to take the teacher employment test again and again until he or she passes it. The other way is to seek an alternative career to teaching. Both avenues are being pursued by education college graduates in Japan today.

The first alternative, that of repeating the examination, has created increasing numbers of unemployed college graduates (shushoku ronin), individuals who have taken the test two or three times. In 1985, 59 percent of the total number of newly employed teachers were college graduates who entered the profession directly after graduation. More than one-third of the newly employed teachers in 1985 were individuals who repeated the examination at least once. The remaining newly-hired teachers were persons who entered the profession after working for some length of time in different jobs. This phenomenon is one of the peculiar characteristics of the Japanese teacher employment system. The percentage shift of new college graduates employed as public school teachers is described in the following table.

Table 3. The Numbers of Newly Employed College Graduates.

	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984
Number of New College Graduates Employed (A)	22,394	23,298	25,139	24,181	26,612	25,683	23,737	20,912	19,503	20,211
Number of Teachers Employed (B)	34,489	36,565	39,968	40,109	47,041	45,387	44,009	38,649	37,072	38,369
Percentage of New College Graduates Employed (A/B)	65.5%	63.7%	62.9%	60.3%	56.6%	56.3%	53.9%	54.1%	52.6%	52.7%

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Source: The Ministry of Education, Kyoiku Iinkai Geppo (Monthly Review of Board of Education), No. 329, 351, 376, 399, and 411.

As the above figures suggest, new college graduates made up nearly two-thirds of the total number of teachers employed up until 1978. That ratio, however, has been decreasing steadily since then. The day will soon come when more than half of all newly-employed teachers will not be new college graduates. Even now, passing the teacher employment examination has become the primary goal of aspiring teachers and requires the most meticulous preparation, even though the examination may not have all that much to do with the reality of being a good teacher.

Teacher candidates are prevented from taking employment examinations an indefinite number of times by regulations setting the age of thirty as the limit for applicants. Most prefectural and municipal authorities stipulate that teacher candidates satisfy this age restriction. As of 1982, only two prefectures had no age limit set on teacher candidacy.[9] More than half of the 47 prefectures require that candidates be under the age of thirty. The oldest a teacher candidate can be in Japan is forty-one, as stipulated by Osaka Prefecture. Therefore, people who wish to change careers and become teachers cannot do so past the age of forty-one. This would appear to be defective and discriminatory policy depriving Japanese schools of many well-qualified teachers with unique personalities and experiences.

The second alternative pursued by many frustrated teacher candidates is to enter the business world. This is a route fairly new to graduates from colleges of education, while it is a traditional one taken by graduates in literature, law, and science. These latter colleges have long-developed connections with the business world and can offer their graduates a good deal of assistance in securing employment after graduation. However, colleges of education have never developed such connections with the business world, regarding education graduates who go into business as unusual and rare, and so can offer their graduates little help in this regard. Some colleges of education have begun to confront this problem. As the Special Committee for the Investigation of Future Employment Problems in Education at Kagawa University has said, it is imperative that colleges of education explore new career avenues for their graduates, as well as upgrade the quality of their curricula for teacher education.[10]

The Committee also indicates the difficulties colleges of education have in common in finding jobs for their graduates. First, colleges of education maintain the traditional view that their courses are solely intended to prepare future schoolteachers. This view is so deeply embedded in people's minds that it will take some time before it changes. Second, major businesses will not actively recruit graduates from colleges of education because they share this view that education college graduates are best as schoolteachers and are unsuited to work in the business world. Many executives regard education college graduates as second-class students. Third, education college graduates can count on little help from alumni in the business world for help in getting started. One must bear in mind the fundamental importance of connections in the Japanese business world in order to understand this point. Fourth, many colleges of education are located in smaller cities, distant from Japan's commercial and industrial centers. These cities can offer college graduates relatively little in the way of employment. These are some of the main factors making it difficult for education college graduates to secure jobs outside of the schools.

In spite of these difficulties, the number of graduates from colleges of education entering the business world has been gradually increasing. Table 4 indicates the changing distribution of employment for education college graduates.

Table 4. The Employment of the Graduates of Colleges of Education.

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	Total Number of Graduates
1980	52.8	14.4	3.7	6.0	5.8	5.4	11.8	18,878
1981	49.8	16.9	3.7	5.8	6.7	5.7	11.4	19,013
1982	46.4	19.3	3.2	5.8	7.7	6.1	11.4	18,811
1983	40.3	18.8	4.3	6.0	9.7	6.1	14.8	18,876
1984	34.5	19.8	5.7	6.2	11.9	6.7	15.2	-

Key: A: Elementary school teachers, B: Junior high school teachers, C: Senior high school teachers, D: Other types of teachers, E: Business and other fields, F: Graduate schools, G: Unemployed.

Source: The Committee on Employment Problems for Education College Graduates at Kagawa University, Kyoin Yoseikei Daigaku. Gakubu no Shushoku Mondai ni kansuru Chosa Kento Hokokusho (A Report Concerning the Employment Problems Related to Colleges of Education), 1985, p. 1.

While the number of those graduates from colleges of education who could enter the teaching profession has decreased from three-quarters in 1980 to two-thirds in 1985, the percentage of those graduates who entered business and other fields doubled during the four year period. Also, those graduates in some condition of unemployment increased by 40 percent during the period. As of 1984, 15 percent of all graduates from colleges of education were preparing for the next round of teacher employment examinations. Surprisingly, the number of those preparing to take the examination again is still greater than the number of those who enter business and other areas. This fact alone indicates how strongly motivated to become teachers are students in the education colleges. Clearly, the time has come to re-evaluate the purpose and function of colleges of education, institutions that have for so long been engaged exclusively in the preservice training of teachers.

The Competition between Colleges of Education and Other Colleges

The fact that many graduates of colleges of education find themselves unemployed after graduation suggests that these graduates are losing in competition with graduates from other colleges. Since the teacher employment examination is open to anyone holding a teaching certificate, those who pass the examination are by no means always graduates from colleges of education. In 1985, more than one-third of all newly-hired elementary school teachers, almost two-thirds of junior high school, and nearly 90 percent of senior high school teachers were graduates from other colleges, including junior colleges and graduate schools. In total, 62.6 percent of all newly-employed teachers were graduates of other four-year colleges, junior colleges, and graduate schools.[11] The remaining one-third were graduates of education colleges.

Table 5. The Composition of Newly Employed Teachers(1985).

	A	B	C	D
Elementary School Teachers (11,386)	63.4%	29.8%	5.7%	0.6%
Junior High School Teachers (13,485)	35.3%	58.8%	4.5%	1.4%
Senior High School Teachers (10,363)	11.7%	79.3%	0.2%	8.8%
Total (38,239)	37.4%	53.4%	5.9%	3.3%

Key: A: Graduates from colleges of education, B: Graduates from other four-year colleges, C: Junior college graduates, D: Graduates from graduate schools.

Note: This figure does not include those employed as special education teachers and nurse-teachers, but the total number includes those teachers.

Source: The Ministry of Education, Kyoiku Iinkai Geppo (Monthly Review of Board of Education), No. 416, 1985, p.66.

Half of all newly-employed teachers majored in literature, the sciences, home economics, art, and so on, a result of the open competition system in the teacher employment examination. The following table shows the numbers and percentages of college graduates who entered teaching from other major fields besides education during the past eight years.

Table 6. The Number of College Graduates from Various Major Fields who Entered the Teaching Profession.

	Education	Humanities	Social Sciences	Natural Sciences	Engineering	Agriculture	Health	Home Economics	Art	Others	Total
1976	13,954 (46.6%)	7,448 (24.9%)	1.611 (5.4%)	1,683 (5.6%)	1,008 (3.4%)	404 (1.3%)	497 (1.7%)	1,320 (4.4%)	1,944 (6.5%)	52 (0.2%)	29,926
1978	16,072 (49.7%)	6,809 (21.1%)	2,575 (8.0%)	1,865 (5.8%)	1,185 (3.6%)	354 (1.1%)	454 (1.4%)	1,420 (4.4%)	1,518 (4.7%)	50 (0.2%)	32,302
1980	20,643 (51.4%)	9,596 (23.9%)	1,903 (4.7%)	2,352 (5.9%)	1,091 (2.7%)	439 (1.1%)	357 (0.9%)	1,723 (4.3%)	1,943 (4.9%)	88 (0.2%)	40,135
1982	19,707 (51.6%)	9,146 (24.0%)	2,183 (5.7%)	1,830 (4.8%)	577 (1.5%)	413 (1.1%)	449 (1.2%)	1,736 (4.5%)	2,019 (5.3%)	115 (0.3%)	38,175
1984	17,081 (50.7%)	7,728 (22.9%)	1,857 (5.5%)	1,991 (5.9%)	628 (1.9%)	452 (1.3%)	258 (0.8%)	1,502 (4.4%)	2,157 (6.4%)	60 (0.2%)	33,714

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Source: The Ministry of Education, Gakko Kihon Chosa Hokokusho (Report of Basic School Research), 1976, 1978, 1980, 1982, 1984.

The above table includes statistics on both public and private school teachers. A noteworthy aspect of the data is that 38 percent of the total number of employed teacher were graduates in the humanities, social sciences, and natural sciences. Graduates in the humanities are the major competitors with graduates of colleges of education, particularly as junior and senior high school teachers. In order for colleges of education to continue securing jobs for their graduates, they need to contrive new measures to compete with graduates from other colleges. Otherwise, colleges of education will gradually lose command of the education employment market to other colleges and they will fail to attract the most qualified high school graduates. The results of the teacher employment examinations reveal, in this way, the grave threat to colleges of education from other colleges in the Japanese university system.

The Method of the Teacher Employment Examination

Japanese teachers are generally employed and appointed in April, the beginning of the school year. However, most newly-employed teachers are notified of their appointment before April. By that time, they have passed over all the hurdles of the employment examination, held from the previous summer vacation into the fall. Therefore, those who wish to be employed soon after graduation from college must take the examination during their senior year. The examination begins in July and ends in October. The following table shows the schedules of teacher examinations of the 47 prefectures and 10 municipalities in 1984 and 1985.

Table 7. Schedules of Teacher Employment Examinations.

	Primary Exam Period (57 prefectures & municipalities)		Secondary Exam Period*			Secondary Exam Notice of Results				Announcement of Appointment				
1983-	July	Aug.	Aug.	Sep.	Oct.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Jan.	Nov.	Dec.	Jan.	Feb.	Mar
1984	51	6	14	9	24	8	45	4	0	36	2	1	3	15
1984-1985	53	4	17	8	22	9	44	3	1	36	2	3	3	13

*47 prefectures and municipalities stipulated the period of the secondary examination.

Source: Kyoin Shiken Jiten (Teacher Employment Examination Handbook) (Tokyo: Jijitsushinsha, 1985), p. 56.

Most primary examinations serve as a screening device and are administered in July, while secondary examinations, based on the results of the primary tests, are given in late summer and early fall. In 1984, 53 prefectures and cities announced examination results by the end of November. 36 of these announcements included final announcements of teacher appointments for April of 1985. However, more than a dozen prefectures and cities delayed announcement of appointments until March, just one month before the beginning of actual service. For some prefectures and cities, the employment examination process is long and laborious, taking up to nine months from start to finish. In 1982, the Ministry of Education notified every board of education in the country to consider schemes to speed up the announcement of new appointments.[12] Yet, about twenty prefectures and cities persist in sending out appointment announcements after January.

In 1982 the Ministry of Education also suggested that every prefectural and municipal board of education explore new ways to improve and diversify the methods of selecting teacher candidates. In response to this request, many boards of education adopted various new tests of practical skills and techniques, using personal and group interviews, the results of essay and aptitude tests, and considerations of the applicant's experience and extracurricular activities in college, all in addition to the standard written examinations.

In most prefectures and cities, the written portion of the teacher employment examination is given at the time of the primary examination. It consists mainly of two kinds of tests: a test of knowledge about education in general and a test of the applicant's knowledge within the particular area he wishes to teach. For elementary school teacher candidates, both tests are the same of all applicants, as elementary school teachers are supposed to be generalists in areas of study at the elementary school level. The ten different tests for junior high school teachers correspond to the ten special areas taught in the junior high schools, namely, Japanese, social studies, mathematics, science, English, music, art, home economics, industrial arts, and physical education. At the senior high school level, there are twenty specialized tests from which the applicant can choose.

In addition to the written examination, the primary examination also includes tests of practical skills. All elementary school teacher applicants are required to take three types of tests of practical skills. First, they must take a test of skills essential for physical education such as swimming, basic gymnastics, and athletic ability. The second is a test of musical skills including playing the piano and singing. The third is a test of artisitic skill, including painting and drawing. Depending on what junior high school applicants wish to teach, there are two types of practical skill tests. Prospective English teachers, for example, are given tests of English conversation proficiency. The other is a test of physical ability required of all applicants. Some boards of education include these tests in the primary part of the examination, while others include in them in the secondary part. The following table indicates the number of prefectures and cities which administer these examinations.

Table 8. The Number of Prefectures and Cities Which Require Tests of Practical Skills.

		Practical Skill Test						Essay Test	Aptitude Test
		Elementary School				Junior High School			
		Swimming	Athletic	Music	Art	English	Athletic		
1981	(1)*	34	25	19	6	8	3	17	17
	(2)**	8	8	16	9	12	4	14	12
	Total	42	33	35	15	20	7	31	29
1983	(1)*	39	30	21	8	17	6	24	16
	(2)**	12	13	26	4	9	10	25	25
	Total	51	43	47	12	24	16	49	41
1985	(1)*	39	32	22	7	16	9	30	22
	(2)**	13	12	24	6	19	9	25	27
	Total	52	44	46	13	33	18	55	47

* Primary examination; ** Secondary examination.

Source: Kyoin Shiken Jiten (Teacher Employment Examination Handbook), p. 56.

Comparing data from 1981 and 1985, we can see a distinctive difference in the number of prefectures and cities which adopted practical skills and other tests. The most conspicuous difference is the increased use of essay and aptitude tests. Also notable is the increased use of English conversation proficiency tests and tests of physical ability for junior and senior high school candidates. Almost all prefectural and municipal boards of education use either individual or group interviews or both as a principle means of judging the personal qualities of applicants.

As these figures indicate, the Ministry of Education's 1982 suggestion had a significant effect on the adoption of practical skill tests and other tests. This diversification of teacher employment examination methods seen up until 1985 will be continued into the future.

Some Problems Inherent in the Teach Employment Examination

The discussion of college entrance examinations in Chapter 2 and of teacher employment examinations in this chapter reveals similar changes in both. Both college entrance examinations and teacher employment tests have both been diversified in an effort to attract and recruit a broader range a talented applicants.

However, there is another aim which, ideally, underlies every kind of examination, that is the idea of fairness in the competition. People are motivated to take examinations in which they can prove themselves superior to others in a fair and open competition. Are teacher employment examinations fair and open competitions? In connection with this question, we must say that there are some serious problems with the teacher employment examination system. Above all are the problems of excessive secrecy in releasing the results of the tests and the tight restrictions on who can take the tests.

The atmosphere of secrecy surrounding teacher employment examinations is a frequent focus of criticism by educators.[13] No prefectural or municipal board of education shows the results of the examinations to the public. Even applicants are not allowed to see the results of their own tests. Most prefectural and municipal boards of education conduct their examinations honestly and judge applicants fairly. However, there is strong evidence of the role nepotism plays at the time of employment. Some applicants are advised to see persons connected with the board of education for which they wish to work in order to get special consideration at the time of employment. Other applicants are advised that it is very useful to get to know community political leaders. These cases are only the tip of the iceberg, and they suggest that the supposedly objective examinations are influenced by a variety of factors. What appears to be a fair and impartial system may not be all that fair. In order to eliminate suspicions of unfairness, boards of education should allow applicants and other concerned people access to information related to and results of the teacher employment examinations.

The second area that demands reform is the system of barriers built into teacher employment regulations. Many talented and unique individuals are excluded from the profession for seemingly arbitrary reasons. In some cases, these regulations are plainly discriminitory. One serious problem concerns regulations excluding people of foreign nationality from taking public school teacher employment examinations. As of 1982, 30 prefectures and four cities listed a regulatory clause requiring that exam-takers be Japanese nationals, while 17 prefectures and six cities discarded the clause.[14] The Japanese nationality clause originates in the Cabinet Legislation Bureau's view that a foreigner must become a Japanese national if he or she wishes to become a civil servant charged with executing public duties and participating in public decision-making. Insofar as public school teachers are civil servants, public school teacher candidates are required to hold Japanese nationality. Needless to say, this clause should be struck from regulations concerning teacher employment so that the educational system can attract qualified teachers who are presently excluded. The same suggestion should be applied to clauses concerned with the age of teacher candidates.

Another discriminitory feature of the teacher employment system is the risk of exclusion from teaching on the basis of the applicant's "ideological" background. This kind of discrimination takes place in a subtle and invisible way. There are no regulations which overtly stipulate the applicant's ideological or political beliefs. Yet some boards of education check these beliefs by asking about such controversial issues as teachers unions, radical student activity, and the inspection of school textbooks by the Ministry of Education.[15] Some prefectural boards of education secretly investigate the applicant's involvement in radical student movements with the cooperation of various law enforcement authorities. The investigations are carried out behind the scenes so no one except those involved in the selection process can collect evidence about this aspect of the selection process.

Obviously, these procedures all run counter to the idea of equal opportunity in education, particularly in the area of teacher employment. Applicants are discriminated against on the basis of nationality, beliefs, age, and family background. It is undeniable that a more open competition would succeed in attracting many talented persons from a variety of backgrounds into the teaching profession. Yet the present system discriminates against many such people. Until these various inequities are resolved, many talented and promising candidates will be excluded from teaching in Japanese public schools.

The next decade will see a steady decrease in demand for new teachers. Nevertheless, this does not mean that competitition on the teacher employment examination will be keener than it was a decade ago. Real competition in the selection system will come about when the teacher recruiting system is improved further. Such improvement will be realized when candidates cease to be discriminated against on the basis of nationality, belief, age, sex, social status, and family background.

Footnotes

1 The Ministry of Education, Gakko Kihon Chosa Hokokusho (A Report on the Investigation of Basic School Research), 1984, pp. 318-19.

2 Katsuya Kobayashi, ed., Kyoin Yosei o Kangaeru (Thoughts on Teacher Education) (Tokyo: Keisoshobo, 1982), p. 24.

3 The Ministry of Education, Kyoiku Iinkai Geppo (Monthly Review of Board of Education), No. 416, p. 68.

4 The Ministry of Education, Education in Japan (Tokyo: Gyosei, 1983), p. 80.

5 Tomiji Nagao, ed., Kyoshi Kyoiku no Kadai (The Task of Teacher Education) (Tokyo:Meijitosho, 1983), pp. 158-160.

6 The Ministry of Education, Kyoiku Iinkai Geppo, No. 416, p. 63.

7 Morikazu Ushiogi, Kyoin Juyo no Shorai Tenbo (The Future of Teacher Demand) (Tokyo: Fukumura Shuppan, 1985).

8 Ibid., pp. 10-15.

9 Tomiji Nagao, ed., Kyoshi Kyoiku no Kadai, p. 172.

10 The Committee on Employment Problems at Kagawa University, Kyoin Yoseikei Daigaku. Gakubu no Shushoku Mondai ni kansuru Chosa Kento Hokokusho (A Report Concerning the Investigation of Employment Problems Related to Colleges of Education), 1985, p. 23.

11 The Ministry of Education, Kyoiku Iinkai Geppo, p. 66.

12 Ibid., No. 383, 1982, pp. 37-38.

13 Osamu Kanda, ed., Kyoshi no Saiyo (The Employment of Teachers) (Tokyo: Yuhikaku, 1984), pp. 64-70.

14 Tomiji Nagao, ed., Kyoshi Kyoiku no Kadai, p. 171.

15 Ibid., pp. 170-171.

CHAPTER IV

THE EXTENSIVENESS AND QUALITY OF INSERVICE TEACHER TRAINING

The world of Japanese teachers is characterized by egalitarianism. Once employed, most new teachers are put in charge of their classrooms just as veteran teachers are. Newly-employed teachers enjoy just as much independence and freedom in teaching as do veteran teachers. This egalitarian atmosphere stems from the belief that new teachers have mastered knowledge and skills sufficient to be treated as independent teachers. However, this is not to say they need no further training after employment. This egalitarian principle can only be maintained through the continuous effort of all teachers to train themselves throughout their careers. In particular, a series of inservice training courses is required study for all new teachers.

The Meanings and Functions of Inservice Teacher Training

From a legal point of view, inservice training is required for all public school teachers. As the nineteenth and twentieth articles of the Special Regulations Law for Educational Personnel stipulates, public school teachers are obligated to continue studying to improve the quality of their teaching. Also, employers are required to plan and provide facilities for inservice training. Inservice training for teachers if called Kenshu, a combined word made up of kenkyu (study or research), and shuyo (moral discipline). Research and discipline are considered essential responsibilities for all teachers, a central aspect of their professionalism. Research and discipline are carried out through the intensive inservice training planned by prefectural and municipal boards of education and other educational organizations.

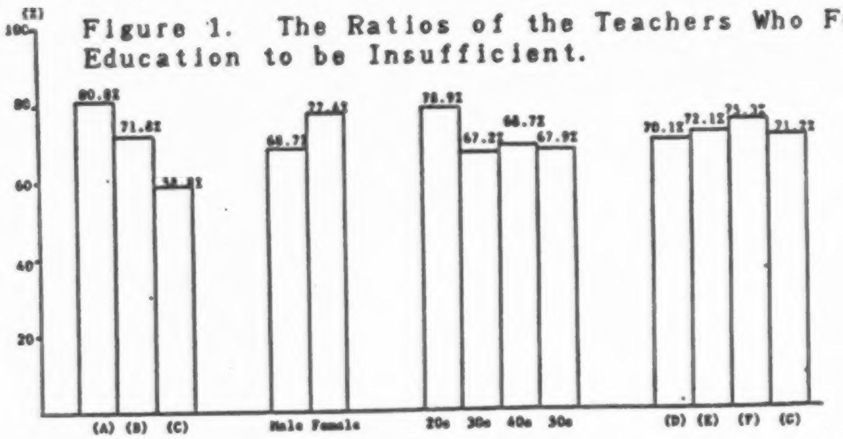
At the same time, the changing social and educational environment has made inservice training necessary. Schoolteachers are often criticized for their inability to cope with the rising tide of pathological phenomena in education such as vandalism, bullying, and delinquency. Parents, intellectuals, and even political leaders have criticized teachers and the present school system. Underlying these criticisms is a strong wish to upgrade the quality of Japanese teachers. These critics expect teachers to raise their consciousness of the various problems related to schools and children.

Teachers are expected not only to continue their own education throughout their careers, but to play a leading role in the education of the community as a whole. Teachers are expected to expand their activities beyond the walls of the schools into the wider arena of society. Toward this end, teachers are expected to learn more and to increase their range of educational skills. Inservice training aims at the cultivation of life-long learners as well as life-long teachers.

Inservice training is considered essential for teachers and is, in effect, the second stage of teacher education, following the preservice training given teachers in colleges and universities. Inservice training is the link between a teacher's college career and his career as a teacher. Training is necessary because there is gap between the capabilities of new teachers fresh out of college and the skills and knowledge expected of them as teachers. The completion of a prescribed curriculum of coursework and the passing of a teacher employment examination does not mean that a new teacher is ready to engage fully in actual teaching. How can new teachers with only two to four weeks' student teaching experience be considered qualified to teach without any further training? Preservice teacher training is only a foundation needing reinforcement by inservice training and teaching apprenticeship.

According to research conducted in 1978, more than two-thirds of the teachers surveyed felt that preservice teacher training was inadequate to providing the knowledge and skills they needed to be effective teachers. The following figure shows the ratio of those teachers who feel that teacher education at colleges is not enough to provide necessary practical skills and knowledge.

Figure 1. The Ratios of the Teachers Who Feel College Teacher Education to be Insufficient.



Key: A:Elementary school teachers, B:Junior high school teachers, C:Senior high school teachers, D:Teachers in general, E:Head teachers, F:Assistant principals, G:Principals.

Source: Shogo Ichikawa, ed., Kyoshoku Kenshu Jiten (Encyclopedia of Inservice Teacher Training) (Tokyo: Kyoiku Kaihatsu Kenkyusho, 1983), p. 41.

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Almost 70 percent of teachers felt that preservice training was insufficient in terms of the mastery of practical skills and knowledge. Among this group, elementary school teachers, female teachers, and teachers in their twenties appear to be most keenly aware of these inadequacies in their preservice preparation. One interesting finding is that senior high school teachers seem to have the most confidence in their preservice training. This feeling that their training has been adequate may partly be due to senior high school teachers seeing themselves as expert in a particular subject. Elementary school teachers, on the other hand, see themselves as needing expertise in a wider range of skills demanding a longer and more intensive period of practice teaching than their college careers had afforded them.

Moreover, inservice training is viewed as a rite of passage for new teachers between college and the real world of actual classroom teaching. Inservice training is not only a period during which new teachers master the fundamental skills of teaching, but also a kind of initiation ceremony through which they are introduced to the network of teachers and to the unwritten rules governing this network. When a teacher is promoted into the ranks of school administration, that teacher goes through another process of initiation. As the rank differs, so too does the ethos and climate associated with that rank. Once a person is promoted to principal, he or she is expected to behave according to the rules associated with the highest rank in a school. Even for principals, inservice training is the rite of passage into a new school network.

Needless to say, voluntary efforts at increasing a teacher's knowledge and skill are inevitable aspects of professional growth. Inservice training should promote these voluntary efforts. Toward this end, the cooperation of various educational organizations such as prefectural and municipal boards of education, teacher education centers, colleges of education, and the schools themselves, is essential. Through this cooperation, inservice training can become a vital bridge between preservice teacher education and the teacher's actual world of work. A teacher's professional growth is the work of a lifetime and should epitomize the ideal of life-long education.

The Types and Qualities of Inservice Training

Varieties of Inservice Training

If inservice training is to be effective in promoting the professional growth of teachers, it should be varied to fit the various stages of teachers' experience. Inservice training that is appropriate for new teachers is not appropriate for more experienced teachers, and vice versa. Three main stages in the professional development of a teacher can be discerned: beginning teachers, experienced teachers, and teachers in administrative positions. Teachers in the first stage avail themselves of informal and formal training. Our primary focus will be on planned and carefully organized formal inservice teacher training programs.

Formal or institutional types of inservice training are held either within or without the school. Most inservice training held in the school is conducted among small groups and is planned almost entirely by the school staff. Inservice training held outside of the school is usually designed and sponsored by prefectural or regional boards of education. Half of the costs of such training are borne by the national government. Extramural inservice training is large and complex in organization and well-prepared in content.

In 1983, the Ministry of Education conducted an investigation into the inservice training currently provided at the prefectural level.[1] Every prefecture offers some form of inservice training for teachers. The training offered to new teachers and to teachers with three to five years' teaching experience is especially well-organized by all prefectures. This type of basic inservice training is also given to teachers with twenty years of experience. Another important type of inservice training is offered to assistant principals and principals, and is referred to as training for teachers in managerial or administrative positions. Almost 90 percent of the 47 prefectures offer this type of training. However, the number of prefectures offering inservice training for head teachers (shunin) is small. (In elementary schools, head teachers are usually in charge of one grade, i.e., first through sixth. In junior and senior high schools, head teachers have some of the responsibilities associated with being a department chairman in an American school, but the position is viewed primarily as a stepping stone to the greater administrative responsibilities of an assistant principal or a principal.) Fewer than a dozen prefectures offer inservice training in the areas of administration or guidance counselling for head teachers at the elementary and junior high school levels. At the senior high school level, 18 prefectures offer such inservice training.

Table 1. Inservice Training at the Prefectural Level(1983).

	Basic Training						Administrative		Head Teachers	
	New	1-2	3-5	10	15	20	A	B	C	D
Elementary School	47	1	47	4	1	2	42	41	9	11
Junior High School	47	1	47	5	3	2	43	42	9	12
Senior High School	47	1	47	5	2	2	41	40	18	18

Source: The Ministry of Education, Kyoiku Iinkai Geppo (Monthly Review of Board of Education), No. 426, 1985, p. 79.

New teachers are required to take twenty days of inservice training within the first year of service. Most prefectures organize a series of two- to six-day intensive training workshops through out the year. Two prefectures offer the intensive workshop for newly-employed elementary and junior high school teachers in one intensive workshop before the start of school year. Four prefectures offer such training courses to newly-employed senior high school teachers. As a rule, these twenty-day inservice training programs are divided into two parts: one for studying topics in education in general and the other for studying teaching methodology. Topics in education in general include classes in the ethics and responsibilities of the public school teacher, the educational situation within the prefecture, educational law and other related regulations. Teaching methodology encompasses such themes as curricular studies, guidance counselling, and classroom management. The total hours of inservice training is about 95 hours for elementary and junior high school teachers, and about 100 for senior high school teachers. Approximately 18 hours are spent on studies in education in general, and 77 for teaching methodology-related topics. In the case of senior high school teachers, those hours are 19 and 81, respectively.[2]

The number of prefectural boards of education offering inservice training for experienced teachers, especially for those who have three to five years of teaching experience, is about the same as the number of boards offering training for new teachers. However, intensive workshops for experienced teachers are offered by fewer than ten prefectures. Total hours spent in training and studies was about 60, of which 10 hours were spent on topics in education in general, and 50 hours in teaching methodology. Top priorities in the latter category were curricular studies and student guidance.[3]

The Ministry of Education started to put more emphasis on the training of head teachers and to support relevant training workshops held at the prefectural level in 1984. Yet half of all prefectures had already started such inservice training programs in 1983. In comparison with the extensive inservice training programs offered to new teachers, programs for the training of head teachers are quite limited. In most of the prefectures where training for head teachers is held, the training is limited to studies in educational law and other regulations connected to educational personnel. In effect, the work of a head teacher and related inservice training is actually preparation for the larger administrative duties of the assistant principal and principal. Consequently, head teachers spend more time on studies in class and school management. At the elementary and junior high school level, head teachers go through a total of 42 hours of training, while at the senior high school level, the go through 39 hours of training.[4] In the near future, inservice training for head teachers will become one of the critical areas for reexamination both in quantitative and qualitative terms.

The Significance and Evaluation of Inservice Training for Teachers

Among all the varieties of inservice training offered, the most important is that offered to new teachers. Inservice training for new teachers is planned deliberately and carefully inasmuch as it is a kind of initiation ceremony for those just entering the profession. Most boards of education pay special attention to the allocation of new teachers so that they can be placed in schools large enough and well-organized enough to offer the best guidance and training. Most boards tend to avoid placing new teachers in small schools in remote areas that are not equipped to teach the necessary basic knowledge and skills.

The planning of inservice training is not only conducted by the prefectural boards of education and their teacher education centers, but also in cooperation with sub-regional, local boards of education. (Prefectures are usually subdivided into four or five chiho.) More than 70 percent of the 297 sub-regional boards of education participate in the planning of teacher training workshops initiated and sponsored by the prefectures.[5] Further, 90 percent of the regional boards took part in the implementation of these workshops. In fact, most workshop staffs are made up primarily of shido shuji, or teacher-consultants chosen to work at regional boards of education as advisors on the basis of their experience and expertise. Other experienced teachers and administrators participate in the planning and implementation of these workshops. College professors are seldom invited to participate. Teachers and administrators generally feel academics are not familiar with actual conditions in real classsrooms, and so there is a feeling of mutual distrust between people who work in the public schools and those who teach in the universities. The problematic relationship between the public schools and the universities will discussed later in this chapter.

Table 2. Staffs in Charge of Inservice Training for New Teachers.

Prefectural superintendents	0.23%
Municipal superintendents	4.12%
Principals	10.25%
Assistant Principals	0.10%
Teacher-Consultants	53.98%
College professors	1.27%
Experienced teachers	19.10%
Others	5.00%

Source: Tomiji Nagao, ed., Kyoshi Kyoiku no Kadai (The Task of Teacher Education) (Tokyo: Meiji Tosho, 1983), p.200.

Each prefecture has its own budget for the inservice training of new teachers. This budget varies from year to year and upon the number of teachers newly-hired that year. In principle, the Ministry of Education carries half the costs of teacher training but, in practice, many prefectures are not satisfied with funds allocated by the central educational authority. In 1979, the Japanese Society for the Study of Education sent a questionaire to the 47 prefectural boards of education asking about the total amount allocated for the training of new teachers. 21 prefectural boards responded. Survey results indicated that the annual budget for inservice training ranged from ¥18.33 million for the training of 2590 teachers, down to ¥1.2 million yen for 374 new teachers.[6] The average sum used toward the training of one teacher for one year (twenty days' training) was ¥8,687. The average budget for new teacher training for regional boards of education was ¥1.24 million, distributed from the prefectural boards of education. Half of the 21 prefectural boards of education answered that they were considered their allocations for new teacher training to be adequate, and half replied they thought allocations to be inadequate.

The prefectural boards of education consider study of the roles and obligations of teachers to be more important than the study of teaching methods, while the study educational personnel's duties as civil servants are viewed as a third priority.[7] Thus, a clear distinction is made between teachers as teachers and teachers as civil servants, with similarly clear distinctions between their respective duties and responsibilities. At the level of local boards of education, the study of teaching methods was ranked as a top priority, with the mission of teachers and the study of lesson planning following in importance.[8] Yet, newly employed teachers who have gone through inservice training rated the significance of their training experiences differently. They assessed the study of teaching materials as of greatest value with the study of teaching methods as secondary in importance. Newly employed teachers are, obviously oriented to the practical and utilitarian. They generally attach little importance to study of the "mission" (shimeikan) of teachers, usually a top priority for prefectural boards of education. There is clearly a gap between the expectations and priorities of those who go through inservice training and those who administer it.

Nevertheless, newly-hired teachers rate highly the quality of inservice training sponsored by the boards of education and schools employing them. As Table 3 indicates, two-thirds of all newly-employed teachers found inservice training offered by prefectural and local boards of education to be useful, while 80 percent of them found training offered by their own schools to be beneficial. Newly-employed teachers are situation-oriented and practical and find most useful training that prepares them to cope with real problems in real classrooms.

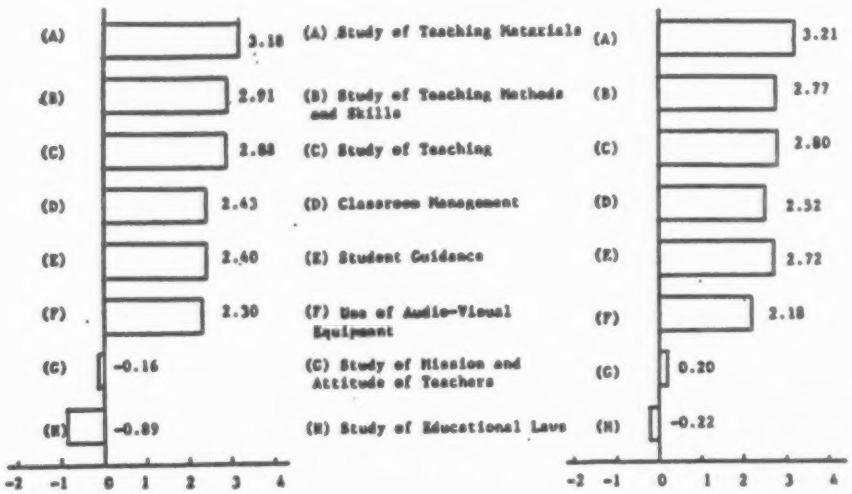
Table 3. Evaluation of Inservice Training by Newly Employed Teachers

	Boards of Education		Schools	
	Elementary	Junior High	Elementary	Junior High
Very Useful	14.2%	18.1%	41.9%	37.7%
Fairly Useful	56.6%	51.4%	42.7%	41.3%
Fairly Useless	22.0%	23.9%	10.2%	15.9%
Totally Useless	2.4%	1.4%	0.5%	0.7%
Others	4.8%	5.2%	4.7%	4.4%

Source: The Japanese Society for the Study of Education, Kyoshi Kyoiku no Kaizen ni kansuru Jissenteki Shohosaku ni tsuite no Kenkyu (A Study of Practical Means for the Improvement of Teacher Education), 1980, pp. 153-54.

In addition to finding inservice training generally useful, new teachers also found the coaching in teaching methods and skills by teacher consultants to be of value.[9] They also found critical evaluations of their teaching by experienced teachers and the observation of experienced teachers in the classroom to be particularly beneficial. Experienced teachers coach new teachers in various administrative procedures and student guidance. Reflecting the significance new teachers attach to these more personal forms of inservice training, many teachers have suggested their reinforcement and strengthening. Figure 2 shows new teachers' expectation for the reinforcement of skills learned in inservice training.

Figure 2. Expectations for the Reinforcement of the Skills Learned in Inservice Training.



Inservice Training offered by Boards of Education

Inservice Training offered by the Schools

Note: The scale of this figure is as follows: more reinforcement=5, satisfied with the present situation=0, and less reinforcement=-5.

Source: The Japanese Society for the Study of Education, Kyoshi Kyoiku no Kaizen ni kansuru Jissenteki Shohosaku ni tsuite no Kenkyu, p. 153.

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The main objects of study for which new teachers wanted reinforcement were study of teaching materials, teaching methods and skills. In contrast, indoctrination about the teacher's mission in society and about educational laws were regarded as of lesser importance. Again, this demonstrates the practical orientation of new teachers.

Both prefectural and local boards of education have similar problems in securing adequate space for large-size intensive workshops. Local boards of education, which are actually in charge of the inservice training of new teachers, also have to face the reality of tight budgets.

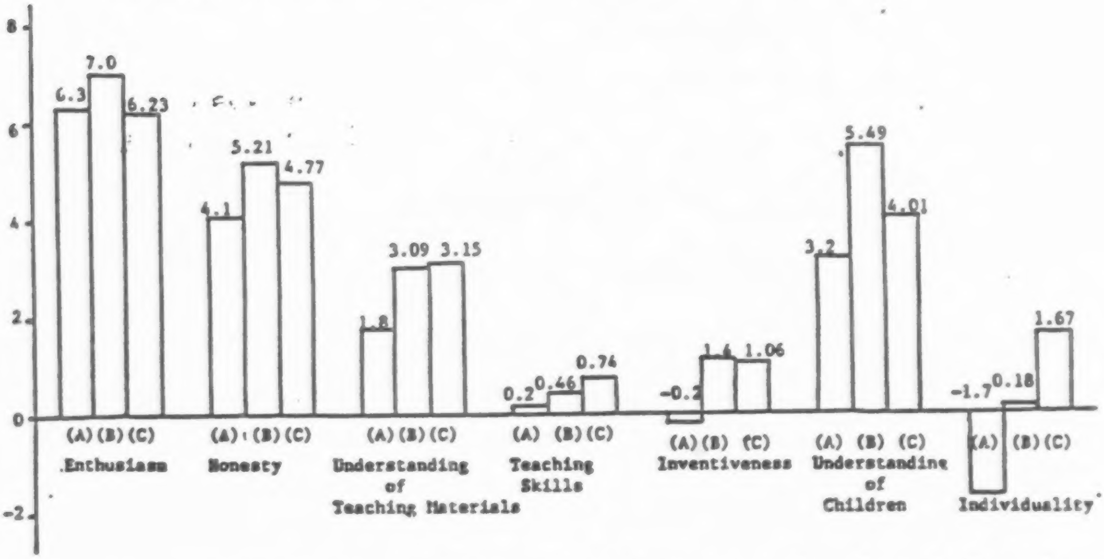
Still, inservice training is widely regarded as successful and useful. 90 percent of the principals in charge of school-based inservice training said they were satisfied with the effect it had on newly-hired teachers.[10] They also suggested that the present school-based inservice training programs be intensified in the future. Half of all elementary school principals and 70 percent of junior high school principals also supported this idea. More than one-third (36.3 percent) of the new teachers felt the present inservice training to be adequate.[11] One-quarter of these new teachers felt the first year of teaching should be considered a period of internship. Many of these teachers, however, were not supportive of efforts to intensify the present inservice training system, either by boards of education or the schools themselves. In fact, when asked which factors they considered most important in terms of improving the quality of their teaching, the new teachers answered that the advice given by senior teachers (66.4 percent) and the interactions with their own students (51.7 percent) were more beneficial than the inservice training offered by the boards of education (10.9 percent) and the training offered by the schools (30.1 percent).[12] Although these results do not reduce the importance of formal inservice training, they do suggest that newly-employed teachers are relying more on traditional, personal interactions with experienced school personnel.

The Evaluation of the Quality of Newly Employed Teachers

During inservice training, new teachers are thrown into the paternalistic environment made up of experienced educational personnel: teacher consultants, head teachers, principals, and superintendents. These senior teachers are well aware of their task of preparing their own successors. Their job is to be critical but fair in judging the potential quality of young teachers.

In general, the evaluations of newly employed teachers done these senior teachers are favorable. According to research conducted by the Japanese Society for the Study of Education, prefectural and local boards of education reported that teachers were generally enthusiastic about their work, faithful to their seniors' counsel, competent in understanding specialized subjects and teaching materials, and eager to understand their students.[13] However, these new teachers were not rated very highly in terms of their teaching skills, leadership ability, and inventiveness. They are simply not encouraged or trained to think for themselves in an educational environment. Thus, the typical young teacher is eager, honest, and intelligent but lacking in individuality and innovative ability.

Figure 3. The Evaluation of Newly Appointed Teachers.



Key: A: Prefectural Boards of Education, B: Local Boards of Education, C: Principals.

Note: The scale used for this figure is as follows: Satisfactory=10, Fair=5, Less=-5, Least=-10.

Source: The Japanese Society for the Studies of Education, Kyoshi Kyoiku no Kaizen ni kansuru Jissenteki Shohosaku ni tsuite no Kenkyu, pp. 113-129.

In spite of the generally good image of young, new teachers, prefectural and local boards of education, as well as school principals, were all dissatisfied with the present system of teacher education in colleges and universities.[14] They all believe reform is urgently needed. Among their recommendations are increased efforts to inculcate a sense of mission in prospective teachers, this ideal of shimeikan, and a mastery of methods of understanding children and young people. Education students need to learn more about the foundations and philosophy of education, at the same time balancing that knowledge with basic common sense. These professional educators also believe college professors need to know more about the practical applications of what they teach in actual school situations. . All these recommendations are aimed at making preservice teacher education more practical in orientation, more clearly directed toward producing teachers capable of functioning in the real world of the public schools. Underlying these recommendations is a deep-seated distrust of education college professors on the part of professional educators, a distrust, indeed, an animosity, that extends in both directions. Education professors are reluctant to accept the advice of experienced teachers, and are even more reluctant to accept retired teachers and administrators into their midst as teachers of education. To do so would possibly undermine their authority as the arbiters of educational theory and training. The world of the public schools and the world of the colleges of education are separated by a wide gulf. The colleges of education are responsible for training teachers to enter a profession from which the colleges remain remote and largely alienated. Clearly, this gap between the colleges and the schools must be bridged if significant progress is to be made in improving the quality of teachers in Japanese schools.

Inservice Training of Teachers at Colleges and Universities

Until recently it has been impossible for a teacher in actual service to pursue graduate study without resigning his or her post. Some teachers were allowed to take several courses at colleges or graduate schools on a part-time basis as part of long-term inservice training, but it was quite rare for a teacher to acquire a graduate degree while continuing to work. Colleges and universities simply did not extend themselves to teachers interested in pursuing their education while continuing their teaching careers. Even the recently-established graduate programs in education at the national universities were not originally established for the purpose of inservice teacher education, but rather for those who wished to pursue the academic study of education and educational research.

In view of this failure of the graduate schools to offer programs of study for working teachers, two new graduate schools of education, Hyogo Kyoiku Daigaku and Joetsu Kyoiku Daigaku, were founded in 1978. These schools are nationally funded and are professionally oriented. The primary purpose is to provide highly professional inservice training for teachers, to conduct research into problems of primary and secondary education, and to cultivate better-qualified teachers. Both schools stipulate that two-thirds of the students must be teachers in actual service who have more than three years of teaching experience.

Another unique but problematic feature of these schools is that teachers who wish to take the entrance examination are required to secure permission to do so from their prefectural or municipal boards of education. Applicants are required to obtain a letter of permission from their supervising board of education. This letter is, in effect, a letter of recommendation from the teacher's employer. When an applicant passes the entrance examination he or she is guaranteed a full salary for the two years it takes to complete the coursework necessary for the master's degree. These are obviously elite institutions for selected teachers: the Hyogo Kyoiku Daigaku program has 200 students from all over the country, while the Joetsu program has about 100 students.

A study done by the Japanese Society for the Study of Education reveals that teachers who studied in one of these programs were satisfied with the quality of instruction provided there. According to the results of questionaires sent to 132 teachers who entered the graduate school at Hyogo in 1980 and graduated in 1982, more than 80 percent of them answered that the coursework at the University was satisfactory and useful as long-term inservice training.[15] Almost 60 percent of them found the master's thesis advising to be a new and useful experience, while 68 percent of them found advising in general to be sufficient and satisfactory.[16] Yet one-third of the teachers in the program felt that the graduate student advising needed improvement. Especially, these students found the guidance to be too theoretical and abstract to be applied directly to their day-to-day work as schoolteachers. These students wanted to find some way to integrate theory with practice, and came into the graduate program with this end in mind.

Upon completing the two year program of graduate study and returning to their schools, 85 percent of these teachers reported no change in their status.[17] Sixty percent of the 132 graduate program participants had expected some promotion upon returning to work, but only 9.2 percent of them were actually promoted to head teacher. Thirty-five percent of them felt that research positions in other institutions would become available to them with the master's degree from Hyogo Kyoiku Daigaku. Seventeen percent of them wished to see a new advanced teacher certificate established and granted to them on the basis of their completing a course of advanced study. Only 5 percent , those with more than 15 years' experience, expressed the wish to be promoted to head teacher, assistant principal, or principal. Only a small minority expressed a wish for a higher salary. In short, participants in the program were generally satisfied with the quality of the program itself, but were less than satisfied with their reception back into their own schools.

One serious drawback to these new programs in graduate study for working teachers is that the opportunity for advanced study is given to so few teachers. There are 1.6 million teachers in Japan, and space in these programs for only about 300 of them. Moreover, even though there are many teachers who would like to take advantage of the opportunity to study further at the graduate level, applicants must obtain as many as four letters of consent -- letters from the principal of the school in which they teach, from the municipal board of education, the local board of education, and the prefectural board of education -- as only the first stage of the admissions process. Thus, only those candidates deemed most desirable from and educational as well as political point of view manage to pass through the screening system.

Another problem as that teachers who would study in these programs must leave their schools. Most national colleges of education located in smaller cities do not offer graduate programs in education. Also, the dozen national colleges of education are not at all eager to accept working teachers as graduate students. For graduate colleges of education to increase their role in the inservice training of teachers, they should open their programs to teachers. Colleges of education located in smaller cities could allow teachers to commute from their place of employment to classes at the college in order to continue their long-term inservice training. These colleges could offer evening classes to enable teachers to carry out their duties as teachers while pursuing their studies. A closer connection between colleges of education and the inservice training of teachers would encourage a closer correspondence between educational theory and educational practice as well as providing opportunities for furthering the professional growth of teachers.

Summary

Inservice training for teachers, the second stage of teacher education, is essential for improving their skills as teachers and and to encouraging them to become life-long learners. Yet, further improvement and reform is necessary in this area.

First, it is essential that some incentives be contrived to induce more teachers to participate in inservice training throughout their careers. One of the unique characteristics of the teaching profession in Japan is the application of egalitarian principles in the area of teachers' salaries. Regardless of a teacher's industry or laxity, teachers' salaries rise steadily and reliably. Head teachers receive little more compensation than do ordinary teachers. There is little incentive for teachers to apply themselves diligently to programs of inservice training. The opportunity for promotion might be an incentive to pursue inservice training more zealously, but promotion entails different and greater responsibilities, and rather defeats the purpose of keeping well-qualified teachers in the classroom. However, there are other reasons for pursuing professional growth through inservice training, reason harder to define or quantify. Many of those teachers who complete programs of graduate study are clearly seeking to improve their skills as teachers for conscientious and unselfish reasons.

Second, a deeper and closer connection between the schools and the colleges of education should be forged. According to one survey, 55.7 percent of all teachers wish to pursue some form of inservice training at colleges and universities.[18] While this might not be evidence enough to claim that many teachers expect to pursue inservice training at colleges, it clearly supports the contention that colleges and universities should expand their role in inservice training for teachers. Several universities are planning to establish teacher education centers on their campuses, but another decade will be needed for the fulfillment of these plans. Still, these teacher education centers will constitute a major step toward broadening and diversifying inservice training.

At present, most teachers have behind them four years of a college education. However, 80 percent of Japanese school principals consider those four years inadequate to the goal of training professionally-skilled, well-qualified teachers.[19] These principals are, in effect, demanding greater opportunities for teachers to pursue graduate study as part of their inservice training. In expanding the role of colleges of education to encompass both preservice and inservice training of teachers, the quality of teacher education in Japan will be enhanced. The development of adequate programs of teacher education at the graduate level is the task now before the universities and public schools.

Footnotes

1 The Ministry of Education, *Kyoiku Iinkai Geppo (Monthly Review of Board of Education)*, No. 414, 1984, pp. 69-79.

2 *Ibid.*, pp. 76-78.

3 *Ibid.*, p. 78.

4 *Ibid.*, p. 73.

5 Tomiji Nagao, ed., *Kyoshi Kyoiku no Kadai (The Task of Teacher Education)* (Tokyo: Meiji Tosho, 1983), p. 199.

6 *Ibid.*, p. 202.

7 The Japanese Society for the Study of Education, *Kyoshi Kyoiku no Kaizen ni kansuru Jissenteki Shohosaku ni tsuiteno Kenkyu (A Study of Practical Means for the Improvement of Teacher Education)*, 1980, p. 109.

8 *Ibid.*, p. 120.

9 *Ibid.*, p. 148.

10 *Ibid.*, p. 135.

11 *Ibid.*, p. 155.

12 *Ibid.*, p. 158.

13 *Ibid.*, pp. 113-127.

14 *Ibid.*, p. 112.

15 Tomiji Nagao, ed., *Kyoshi Kyoiku no Kadai*, p. 288.

16 *Ibid.*, p. 289.

17 *Ibid.*, p. 292.

18 Shogo Ichikawa, *Kyoshoku Kenshu Jiten*, p. 44.

19 *Ibid.*, p. 43.

CHAPTER V

THE SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS OF TEACHERS

From a legal point of view, public school teachers are considered civil servants. As civil servants, their appointment, retirement, and terms of employment and duties are regulated by the Special Regulations Law for Educational Personnel. While teachers working at national schools are considered "national" civil servants, those working at prefectural and local schools are deemed "local" civil servants. Salary scales for national school personnel are determined by the Compensation Law for Employees in Regular Government Service. Scales for prefectural and municipal personnel are regulated by the bylaws of the local government authorities who employ them. The salary scales for national school personnel are the standard by which prefectural and municipal school personnel salaries are determined. Therefore, salaries for local school personnel are quite similar to those of national school personnel, with the exception of some prefectures and cities.

One of the reasons for the fairly constant number of people who wish to be public school teachers is the stable and secure life civil service affords. It is a well-known fact that civil servants do not have to worry about their economic situation very much upon retirement. They receive a special grant at the time of retirement, taishokukin, and a monthly pension from that time until their death. Moreover, in the wake of the Law Governing Special Measures for Securing Competent Educational Personnel

(1974), public school teachers' salaries and allowances have been improved. Now, not only are teachers' salaries stable, they are competitive with those of other occupations, as well.

The Salary and Allowances of Public School Teachers

Public school teachers are paid monthly. In addition to their regular salary, all teachers can expect to receive special bonus payments three times a year. These bonuses are paid in June, December, and March. The monthly salary usually consists of the basic salary and other allowances. This system of allowances paid to public employees is unique to Japan, and plays an important role in any assessment of teachers' salaries.

The Basic Salary of Teachers

There are four basic salary scales for teachers according to the type of school in which they teach: colleges and junior colleges; technical colleges; senior high schools; and kindergarten, elementary, and junior high schools. As these groupings suggest, salary scales for teachers at the compulsory level of education differ from those of teachers at the senior high school level and above.

Each level of the salary scale is subdivded into salary classes and grades, tokyu and goho, respectively. In the salary scales for national elementary, junior high, and senior high school teachers, the first class applies to principals, the second class to assistant principals, the third class to ordinary teachers, and the fourth class to assistant teachers. Each class has its own grades, goho, which go up annually as the teacher

Table 1. Salary Table for Public School Teachers (1985).

(a) Salary Table for Elementary & Junior High School Teachers

	National School				Tokyo			
	First	Second	Third	Fourth	First	Second	Third	Fourth
1	¥300,800	–	¥103,400	–	¥306,200	¥203,000	¥105,300	–
2	¥308,500	¥190,900	¥108,700	¥96,000	¥314,000	¥211,300	¥110,700	-¥97,700
3	¥316,100	¥199,200	¥113,900	¥99,400	¥321,700	¥219,700	¥116,100	¥101,200
4	¥323,900	¥207,400	¥119,600	¥103,400	¥329,600	¥228,100	¥121,800	¥105,300
5	¥331,700	¥215,700	¥126,500	¥107,600	¥337,400	¥236,300	¥128,800	¥109,600
6	¥339,300	¥223,900	¥133,400	¥112,400	¥345,200	¥244,500	¥136,000	¥114,500
7	¥346,900	¥232,000	¥140,300	¥117,900	¥352,900	¥252,800	¥143,000	¥120,100
8	¥354,300	¥240,200	¥147,200	¥124,000	¥360,500	¥261,100	¥150,000	¥126,300
9	¥361,100	¥248,300	¥154,100	¥130,500	¥367,500	¥269,400	¥157,000	¥133,000
10	¥368,000	¥256,500	¥160,900	¥137,100	¥374,400	¥277,600	¥163,900	¥139,700
11	¥374,200	¥264,700	¥167,700	¥143,600	¥380,700	¥285,200	¥170,800	¥146,300
12	¥380,300	¥272,800	¥174,500	¥149,900	¥386,800	¥292,700	¥177,800	¥152,800
13	¥385,100	¥280,200	¥181,300	¥156,000	¥391,700	¥300,100	¥184,900	¥159,000
14	¥389,900	¥287,600	¥188,400	¥161,900	¥396,500	¥307,500	¥192,100	¥165,000
15	¥394,000	¥294,900	¥196,300	¥167,800	¥400,600	¥314,700	¥200,100	¥171,000
16		¥302,100	¥204,200	¥173,500	¥404,700	¥321,800	¥208,100	¥176,800
17		¥309,200	¥212,300	¥179,100	¥408,800	¥328,900	¥216,200	¥182,500
18		¥316,200	¥220,300	¥184,500		¥336,000	¥224,400	¥188,000
19		¥323,200	¥228,100	¥189,800		¥343,100	¥232,300	¥193,400
20		¥330,300	¥235,900	¥195,000		¥349,600	¥240,200	¥198,700
21		¥337,300	¥243,700	¥199,900		¥355,700	¥248,000	¥203,600
22		¥343,600	¥251,400	¥204,500		¥361,100	¥255,900	¥208,200
23		¥349,600	¥259,200	¥208,900		¥365,700	¥263,700	¥212,700
24		¥354,900	¥266,900	¥212,900		¥369,400	¥271,600	¥216,800
25		¥359,500	¥273,900	¥216,800		¥372,400	¥278,700	¥220,700
26		¥363,200	¥280,700	¥219,900		¥375,400	¥285,700	¥223,800
27		¥366,200	¥287,600	¥223,000		¥378,400	¥292,700	¥226,900
28		¥369,200	¥293,900	¥225,600		¥381,400	¥299,100	¥229,500
29		¥372,200	¥300,000	¥227,900		¥384,400	¥305,300	¥231,800
30			¥305,800	¥230,100			¥311,200	¥234,000
31			¥311,500	¥232,200			¥317,000	¥236,100
32			¥317,100				¥322,700	
33			¥322,100				¥327,800	
34			¥327,000				¥332,800	
35			¥331,500				¥337,300	
36			¥335,300				¥341,100	
37			¥339,000				¥344,800	
38			¥342,700				¥348,500	
39			¥345,300				¥351,100	
40							¥353,700	
41							¥356,300	
42							¥358,900	
43							¥361,500	

(b) Salary Table for Senior High School Teachers

	National School				Tokyo			
	First	Second	Third	Fourth	First	Second	Third	Fourth
1	¥303,900	–	¥113,900	–	¥309,300	–	¥116,100	–
2	¥312,600	¥223,900	¥119,600	¥96,000	¥318,100	¥228,100	¥121,800	¥97,700
3	¥321,200	¥232,000	¥126,500	¥99,400	¥326,900	¥236,300	¥128,800	¥101,200
4	¥330,000	¥240,200	¥133,400	¥103,400	¥335,800	¥244,500	¥136,000	¥105,300
5	¥338,700	¥248,300	¥140,300	¥107,600	¥344,600	¥252,800	¥143,000	¥109,600
6	¥347,400	¥256,500	¥147,200	¥112,400	¥353,500	¥261,100	¥150,000	¥114,500
7	¥356,100	¥264,800	¥154,100	¥117,900	¥362,300	¥269,500	¥157,000	¥120,100
8	¥364,800	¥273,100	¥160,900	¥124,000	¥371,200	¥277,900	¥163,900	¥126,300
9	¥373,600	¥281,400	¥167,700	¥130,500	¥380,100	¥286,400	¥170,800	¥133,000
10	¥382,100	¥289,700	¥174,500	¥137,200	¥388,800	¥294,800	¥177,800	¥139,800
11	¥390,300	¥297,900	¥181,300	¥143,800	¥397,100	¥303,200	¥184,900	¥146,500
12	¥398,000	¥306,100	¥188,400	¥150,400	¥404,800	¥311,500	¥192,100	¥153,300
13	¥405,100	¥314,200	¥196,300	¥156,800	¥412,000	¥319,700	¥200,100	¥159,900
14	¥412,100	¥322,100	¥204,200	¥163,200	¥419,000	¥327,800	¥208,100	¥166,400
15	¥416,700	¥330,000	¥212,300	¥169,600	¥423,600	¥335,700	¥216,200	¥172,900
16		¥337,800	¥220,300	¥175,900	¥428,200	¥343,700	¥224,400	¥179,400
17		¥345,500	¥228,100	¥182,300	¥432,800	¥351,600	¥232,300	¥185,800
18		¥353,200	¥235,900	¥188,600		¥359,400	¥240,200	¥192,200
19		¥360,900	¥243,700	¥194,900		¥367,200	¥248,000	¥198,600
20		¥368,300	¥251,300	¥201,000		¥374,900	¥256,000	¥204,800
21		¥375,400	¥259,400	¥206,400		¥381,900	¥263,900	¥210,300
22		¥382,000	¥267,200	¥211,800		¥388,400	¥271,900	¥215,800
23		¥388,400	¥274,900	¥216,800		¥394,900	¥279,800	¥220,900
24		¥394,800	¥282,700	¥221,700		¥401,300	¥287,700	¥225,900
25		¥399,000	¥290,400	¥226,400		¥405,300	¥295,500	¥230,600
26			¥297,400	¥231,100		¥409,700	¥302,600	¥235,400
27			¥304,200	¥235,700		¥413,900	¥309,600	¥240,000
28			¥311,000	¥240,100			¥316,500	¥244,400
29			¥317,800	¥244,100			¥323,400	¥248,500
30			¥324,600	¥248,100			¥330,300	¥252,600
31			¥330,500	¥251,400			¥336,300	¥255,900
32			¥336,200	¥254,500			¥342,100	¥259,000
33			¥341,000	¥257,500			¥347,000	¥262,000
34			¥345,300	¥260,300			¥351,200	¥264,800
35			¥349,400	¥262,500			¥355,400	¥267,200
36			¥353,500				¥359,500	¥269,500
37			¥356,500				¥362,500	¥271,700
38							¥355,500	¥273,900
39							¥368,500	¥276,100
40							¥371,500	
41							¥374,500	

Source: Kyoiku Sho Roppo Compendium of Educational Laws (Tokyo: Gakuyo Shobo, 1985), and the salary table prescribed by Tokyo Prefecture's bylaws.

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ascends within his or her salary class, or tokyu. Table 1 gives a sample of monthly salary scales for educational personnel in national schools and the scales for teachers in Tokyo.

The basic salary level for newly-employed elementary school teachers in national schools is determined according to the teacher's years of education. Teachers who have graduated from four-year colleges are considered at the third class, fourth grade (¥119,600 per month). Those who have graduated from junior colleges are considered at the third class, first grade (¥103,400).[1] In Tokyo, those elementary school teachers who graduated from four-year colleges receive ¥136,000 per month for the first year, while those who graduated from junior colleges receive ¥121,800.[2]

In national schools, the salaries for newly-employed senior high school teachers (all of whom have graduated from four-year colleges), are set according to their rank, third class, second grade (¥119,600), while those teachers who have graduated from junior colleges are considered at the fourth class, fourth grade (¥103, 400).[3] In Tokyo, salaries are ¥136,000 and ¥121,000, respectively.[4]

Teachers in Tokyo are paid at a rate two grades higher than teachers in national schools. As this difference suggests, each prefecture has its own salary schedule and its own regulations concerning salaries for newly-hired teachers. The following table is an example, showing the initial classes and grades, tokyu and goho, of newly-employed teachers in several prefectures.

Table 2. The Initial Tokyu and Goho of Newly Employed Teachers (1985)

	Elementary & Junior High School				Senior High School			
	Teacher		Assistant Teacher		Teacher		Assistant Teacher	
National School	3-4 ¥119,600	3-1 ¥103,400	4-7 ¥117,900	4-4 ¥103,400	3-2 ¥119,600	4-4 ¥103,400	4-7 ¥117,900	4-4 ¥103,400
Miyagi	3-5 ¥119,600	3-2 ¥103,400	4-8 ¥117,900	4-5 ¥103,400	3-3 ¥119,600	4-5 ¥103,400	4-8 ¥117,900	4-5 ¥103,400
Tokyo	3-6 ¥136,000	3-4 ¥121,800	4-8 ¥126,300	4-6 ¥114,500	3-4 ¥136,000	3-2 ¥121,800	4-8 ¥126,900	4-6 ¥114,500
Aichi	3-6 ¥133,400	3-3 ¥113,900	4-9 ¥130,300	4-6 ¥112,400	3-6 ¥133,400	3-3 ¥113,900	4-9 ¥130,500	4-6 ¥112,400
Kyoto (City)	3-4 ¥119,600	3-1 ¥103,400	4-7 ¥117,900	4-4 ¥103,400	3-2 ¥119,600	4-4 ¥103,400	4-7 ¥117,900	4-4 ¥103,400
Okayama	3-5 ¥126,500	3-2 ¥108,700	-	-	3-3 ¥126,500	4-5 ¥107,600	-	-
Yamaguchi	3-4 ¥119,600	3-1 ¥103,400	4-7 ¥117,900	4-4 ¥103,400	3-2 ¥119,600	4-4 ¥103,400	4-7 ¥117,900	4-4 ¥103,400

Source: These figures are based upon the salary scales prescribed by each prefecture's and municipality's bylaws.

Three of the above prefectures and municipalities use salary scales identical to those used for teachers in national schools, which shows how much the salaries for teachers at national schools are the benchmark for teachers across the country. The difference between salaries for teachers in Tokyo and for teachers in national schools is ¥16,400 per month, reflecting the higher cost of living in the Tokyo area. When this fact is taken into account, salaries for Tokyo teachers are approximately on par with those of teachers at other schools.

Teachers' basic salaries are decided on the basis of the salary schedules, rising one grade annually, following the same pattern without exception. However, when a teacher is promoted to assistant principal, his or her basic salary goes up from the third to second class. For example, if the teacher has been teaching at a national elementary school for twenty years, his her salary would be that of the third class, twenty-fourth grade,

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or ¥266,900 per month. After promotion to assistant principal, the salary shifts to a similar amount on the second class schedule, although slightly higher. In this case, the new assistant principal would be paid ¥272,800, at the second tokyu, twelfth goho.

Teachers' Allowances

In addition to their basic salary, teachers are paid various types of allowances. The following table enumerates the types and amounts of these allowances.

Table 3. The Types and Amounts of Allowances for Teachers

Types of Allowances	Teachers Entitled To Receive Them	Amounts of Allowances
Family Allowance	Teachers who have dependents	¥13,200 for spouse, ¥4,200 for each dependent up to two persons, and ¥1,000 for others.
Housing Allowance	Teachers who pay more than ¥9,000 monthly for rental house	Monthly Amount: ¥14,900
	Teachers who have their own house	Monthly Amount: ¥1,000
Traffic Allowance	Commuters	Monthly Amount: ¥21,700 (Maximum)
High Cost-of-Living Allowance	Teachers serving in areas where living costs are high	Monthly Amount: (Salary + Family allowance + Administration allowance) x (0.09, 0.06, or 0.03)
Isolated Area Allowance	Teachers serving in isolated areas	Monthly Amount: (Salary+Family Allowance) x (0.25, 0.2, 0.16, 0.12, 0.08, or 0.04)
Cold Area Allowance	Teachers serving in cold areas	Monthly Amount: (Salary+Family allowance) x (0.3, 0.23, 0,17, 0.12 0.7) + (¥105,300 - ¥4,300)
Allowance for Teachers at Compulsory Education Level	All teachers	Monthly Amount: 4% of salary within ¥20,200

Administration Allowance	Principals and vice-principals	Monthly Amount:Salary x (14%or12% 10%or8%)
Allowance for Coordination & Advice on Teaching Affairs	Designated head teachers	Daily Amount: ¥200
Multi-grade Allowance	Teachers in charge of multi-grade class	Daily Amount:¥280 for three-grade combined class.¥230 for two-grade combined class.
Day & Night Service Allowance	Paid for day & night service conducted by teachers	Daily Amount: ¥3,200 -¥1,600
Vocational Education Allowance	Senior high school teacher in charge of vocational education	Monthly Amount: Salary x (10%or6%)
Part-time & Correspondence Education Allowance	Senior high school teachers in charge of part-time and correspondence education	Monthly Amount: Salary x (10%or6%)
Bonus	All teachers	Annual Amount:(Salary+Family Allowance +Temporary Area Allowance)x3.8+(Salary +Temporary Area Allowance)x1.1

Source: *Kyoiku Sho Roppo (Compendium of Educational Laws)* (Tokyo:Gakuyo Shobo, 1985), pp. 788-95.

Most teachers receive family allowances, housing allowances, commutation allowances, allowances for teaching at the compulsory (elementary and junior high school) level. All teachers receive bonuses. (These bonuses should in no way be confused with merit pay. There is no system for merit pay system for teachers in Japan.) The allowance for teachers at the compulsory education level was instituted in compliance with the Law Governing Special Measures for Securing Competent Educational Personnel (1974). Such provisions as the high cost-of-living area allowance, the isolated area allowance, and the cold area allowance are paid according with degree of hardship associated with working in a particular area. For example, the cost-of-living allowance paid to teachers in such big cities as Tokyo, Osaka, Nagoya, and Kobe, etc., is nine percent of the basic salary. Isolated or remote areas are classified into six categories ranging from semi-isolated (four percent of the basic salary), to the fifth grade of isolated area (twenty-five percent of the basic salary). Cold area allowances range from seven percent to thirty percent of the basic salary. Head teachers are paid a supplementary allowance, but teachers in some prefectures refuse the payment, believing it runs counter to the egalitarian principles of the profession, and the money is used in common by all the teachers in the school.

Principals and assistant principals, whose salary schedules are different from those of teachers, receive administrative allowances. Principals who serve in large national schools receive fourteen percent above their basic salary. Those who serve in smaller schools receive twelve percent on top of their base pay. In Tokyo, school principals are paid twenty percent above their base salary as an administrative allowance. Assistant principals who serve in large national schools receive a ten percent administrative allowance, while those in smaller schools receive eight percent. Tokyo assistant principals receive thirteen percent above their base pay.

The amounts of allowances differ in some prefectures. The following table indicates the differences in allowances between six prefectures.

Table 4. Amounts of Allowances in Six Prefectures.

		Miyagi	Tokyo	Aichi	Kyoto	Okayama	Yamaguchi
Family Allowance	A	¥13,200	¥14,800	¥14,400	¥13,200	¥13,200	¥13,200
	B	¥4,200	¥4,400	¥4,500	¥4,200	¥4,200	¥4,200
	C	¥1,000	¥1,500	¥1,000	¥1,000	¥1,000	¥1,000
Housing Allowance	D	¥14,700	¥6,700*	¥15,000	¥14,700	¥14,700	¥14,700
	E	¥1,000	¥6,200*	¥1,600	¥1,000	¥1,000	¥1,000
Commutation Allowance	F	¥2,4000	¥39,000	Total fee - ¥900**	¥18,300 + a**	¥27,800	¥39,600
Administration Allowance							
Principal		14-12%	20%	18%	14-12%	14-12%	14-12%
Assistant principal		12-10%	13%	12%	12-10%	12-10%	12-10%

Key: A:for spouse; B:for dependent; C:for others; D:for teachers who pay more than ¥9,000 monthly for rental house; E:for teachers who have their own houses; F:maximum amount paid.

* In the case of teachers in Tokyo, those who have dependents are paid ¥6,700 and those who do not have dependents are paid ¥6,200.
** This formula is applied to the teachers who pay more than ¥23,000 monthly for commutation.

As these figures indicate, most allowances are similar to those paid to national school teachers. One of the main differences can be seen in the amounts paid for commutation expenses, the maximum amount of which reaches nearly ¥40,000 in Tokyo and Yamaguchi Prefecture. Bonuses paid to teachers are nearly the same, the total amount being equivalent to 4.9 months' salary.

Now, we should take up some examples of the salaries paid elementary school teachers. The following are the salaries of 23-year old unmarried teachers, 40-year old head teachers with a spouse and two children, and a 55-year old principal with a spouse and two independent children. The table lists the the salaries for teachers in public and national elementary schools in Tokyo.

Table. 5. Monthly Salaries of National and Public School Teachers.

		Salary	Temporary Area Allowance	Family Allowance	Housing Allowance	Traffic Allowance	Compulsory Education Teacher Allowance	Head Teacher Allowance	Adminis-tration Allowance	Monthly Total	Bonus	Annual Total
23 Years Old Teacher	P	¥136,000	¥12,240	-	¥6,200	¥20,000	¥6,600	-	-	¥181,040	¥726,380	¥2,898,860
	N	¥119,600	¥10,760	-	¥1,000	¥20,000	¥6,000	-	-	¥157,360	¥638,760	¥2,525,050
40 Years Old Teacher	P	¥263,700	¥25,860	¥23,600	¥6,700	¥20,000	¥12,900	¥6,000	-	¥358,760	¥1,508,520	¥5,777,140
	N	¥243,700	¥23,880	¥21,600	¥1,000	¥20,000	¥12,100	¥6,000	-	¥328,280	¥1,393,220	¥5,299,120
55 Years Old Principal	P	¥367,300	¥41,020	¥14,800	¥6,700	¥20,000	¥18,300	-	¥73,500	¥541,800	¥2,418,140	¥8,718,910
	N	¥354,300	¥36,900	¥13,200	¥1,000	¥20,000	¥17,900	-	¥42,520	¥485,820	¥2,175,390	¥7,776,560

As this figure suggests, the average salaries of public school teachers are slightly more than those of national school teachers in Tokyo. The same thing can be said of teachers in other prefectures. At the same time, we should note that the salaries of teachers in Tokyo are some of the highest in the nation.

On the basis of teachers' monthly salaries, their annual income can be calculated. 23-year old teachers in Tokyo receive an annual salary of ¥2,898,860 for public school teachers, and ¥2,257,050 for national school teachers. 40-year old public school teachers are paid ¥5,777,140. while national school teachers are paid ¥5299,120. A 55-year old principal of a typical public school receives ¥8,718,910. while that of a national school receives ¥7,776,560 in annual compensation. Thus, the annual income of a newly-employed teacher is between ¥2.4 and 3.0 million. After fifteen years of teaching, teachers can expect approximately ¥5.0 million. At the end of a teaching career, as a school principal, an annual salary of as much as ¥9.0 million can be anticipated. This is the top salary for public school teachers in Japan. Public elementary school principals make about three times as much at the end of their careers as they did at the start.

The Comparison Between Teachers' Salary and Salaries of Other Occupations

As of 1983, the average income for salaried person in Japan was ¥3.29 million per annum.[5] The average age of Japan's 34.9 million workers was 40.3 years old in that year. Thus the average worker in Japan earns about ¥3 million at the age of 40. As of 1984, the average monthly wage of civil servants was ¥245,919.[6] The average income, including bonuses, for public employees was ¥4,146,280. In general, as these figures suggest, civil servants are paid better than the average worker. As we have already shown, the average annual income for a 40-year old teacher is ¥5.0 million. Thus, teachers are paid better than the average public employee.

According to a survey conducted in 1984 by the National Personnel Authority, the average salary of newly-employed senior high school teachers was ¥151,488 per month, a fairly high salary compared with those of other occupations entered by college graduates. These occupations include company businessman, engineer, medical doctor, pharmacist, nurse, and senior high school teacher. The table below gives the average first year salaries for these six occupations.

Table 6. The Average Salaries of Newly-Employed Workers in Six Occupations.

	Business	Engineer	Medical Doctor	Pharmacist	Nurse	High School Teacher
Master's Degree	¥153,873	¥155,572	¥316,282*	-	-	¥177,019
Bachelor's Degree	¥131,417	¥135,399	-	¥133,771	-	¥151,488
Junior College Graduate	¥112,853	¥118,800	-	-	¥135,096	-

* Physicians and surgeons are required to complete six years of college education, which is equivalent to completing a master's degree program.

Source: The National Personnel Authority, Minkan Kyuyo no Jittai (Actual Salaries of Wage-earners), 1985, p. 12.

The average salaries of first-year senior high school teachers are better than those of any other occupation, except that of medical doctor. Since the salaries of elementary and junior high school teachers are similar to those of senior high school teachers, the salaries of newly-employed teachers in general compares very favorably with those of other professions.

The tendency for newly-hired teachers to be paid better than beginning workers in other occupations began in 1972. As is shown in Table 7, the salary of newly-employed teachers in national schools exceeded that of new employees in businesses and other occupations in 1972. It is also apparent that the salary of national school teachers has been higher than that of other

Table 7. The Transition of Salaries of New Employees.

	National School Teachers	National Public Service Personnel	Business Companies and Others
1955	¥9,300	¥8,700	¥10,657
1960	¥11,500	¥10,800	¥13,080
1965	¥20,710	¥19,610	¥22,980
1970	¥33,410	¥31,510	¥36,700

1972	¥51,584	¥47,200	¥49,900
1975	¥93,568	¥80,500	¥83,600
1980	¥118,112	¥101,600	¥114,500

Source: The Ministry of Education, Waga Kuni no Kyoiku Suijun (The Educational Standard of Our Country), 1981, Appendix p. 95.

national public personnel bound for high positions in Japanese bureaucracy. After 1972, four percent of the base salary was added as a special allowance for teachers at the compulsory education level. Since then, newly-hired teachers, including national and public school teachers have been paid better than those workers employed by businesses and other enterprises.

However, teachers' salaries toward the middle of their careers seem quite average in comparison with those in other fields. There is not much difference between the salary of a mid-career teacher and his counterparts in business, engineering, pharmacy, nursing, sailors in Japanese merchant service, etc. Table 8 presents data on relative salaries for these professions.

Table 8. Average Salaries of Various Occupations.

Businessman	Engineer	Doctor	Pharmacist	Nurse	First-class Sailors	High School Teachers
¥350,551 (40.1)*	¥356,622 (40.3)	¥855,216 (44.6)	¥365,873 (45.6)	¥305,859 (46.3)	¥552,672 (42.8)	¥348,653 (40.6)
¥526,796 (50.0)*	¥494,864 (49.6)	¥1,483,887 (56.4)	-	¥384,086 (53.9)	¥691,556 (49.6)	¥548,157 (58.4)

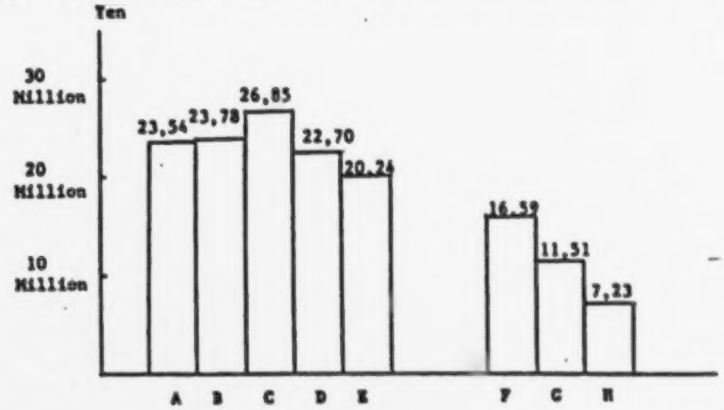
* Average age.

Source: The National Personnel Authority, Minkan Kyuyo no Jittai, 1984, pp. 24-26.

While the above table does not represent salaries in all the professions, such as law, accounting, and such trades as plumbing, building, etc., it is clear that there are few occupations that pay better than teaching. Certainly, lawyers, judges, company presidents, doctors, etc., can earn far better salaries than teachers, but teaching must still be considered as one of the better occupations in Japan. This is especially true when teachers are over the age of 53.[7] The relative superiority of teachers' salaries is due to the steady increase in civil servants' salaries over the course of their careers. Salaries in other fields tend to reach a certain level at around the age of 53 and cease rising or rise very slowly.

Another reason for public school teachers' superior economic position is the taishokukin, or retirement grant, they receive at the end of their careers. All public employees are entitled to receive these grants upon retirement, grants that are larger than those handed to workers retiring from the private sector. In 1982, 130,169 civil servants retired. The average taishokukin for those retirees ¥12.3 million.[8] The average grant for employees who worked more than 25 years was ¥24.5 million. The following figure shows the amounts of retirement grants awarded by local governments and private companies in 1981.

Figure 1. Retirement Grants of Various Occupations (1981).



Key: A: all local public employees; B: prefectural employees; C: designated city employees; D: municipal employees; E: public employees in towns and villages; F: businessmen whose companies employ more than 1,000 workers; G: businessmen whose companies employ from 100 to 999 workers; H: businessman whose companies employ from 30 to 99 workers.

Note: In this case, all public officials worked more than 25 years, whereas all workers in business companies worked more than 35 years at the time of retirement.

Source: The Salaried Man Party, ed., Sarariman Hakusho (The White Paper on Salaried Employees) (Tokyo: Chukyo Shuppansha, 1985), p. 182.

Clearly, the taishokukin of any big business is smaller than those awarded to any public employee upon retirement. In fact, public employees, on average, were paid 42 percent more than their counterparts in big business.[9] Retiring civil servants in major cities did particularly well, receiving 1.62 times more than the amount paid to workers retiring from private sector large enterprises. Needless to say, public educational personnel, making up one-third of the total number of local public service workers, are included in that figure.[10]

In the initial and final stages of their careers, teachers receive better compensation than their counterparts both in the private sector and in other areas of the civil service. Nevertheless, there is a wide gap in salaries between teachers and doctors, lawyers, and accountants. If this gap were to be narrowed somewhat, there is little doubt that the status of teachers as professionals would rise significantly. Our next task will be to examine the transition of the social status of teachers in Japan.

The Transition of the Social Status of Teachers

As we have shown, teachers' salaries have improved for the past fifteen years. Has the social standing of teachers improved commensurately? In order to answer this question, let us examine the results of two surveys on occupational ratings conducted in 1955 and 1975. A comparative examination of these two surveys will show how the status of teaching profession changed over the course of twenty years.

The 1955 survey was conducted by the Japan Sociological Society. About 2000 adults living in six large cities were asked to respond to the questionaire. According to the survey, elementary school teachers ranked eleventh among thirty occupations. Concealed within this high rating, according to several researchers, is the glorification of teachers with superficial compliments.[11] According to this analysis, respondents

Table 9. The Occupational Rating of 1955.

Rank	Occupations	Rank	Occupations
1	Prefectural Governor	16	Farmer
2	University Professor	17	Policeman
3	Court Judge	18	Tailor
4	Business Executive	19	Clerk
5	Medical Doctor	20	Canvassing Agent
6	High Bureaucrat	21	Carpenter
7	Architect	22	Barber
8	Factory Director	23	Bus Driver
9	Labor Union Head	24	Latheman
10	Journalist	25	Fisherman
11	Elementary School Teacher	26	Miner
12	Buddhist Priest	27	Charcoal Burner
13	Merchant	28	Road Worker
14	Civil Servant	29	Peddler
15	Businessman	30	Shoe Polisher

Source: Tsuneo Hosoya, ed., Kyoshi no Shakaiteki Chii (The Social Status of Teachers) (Tokyo: Yuhikaku, 1956), p. 53.

felt a deep-seated hostility toward teachers. This feeling reflects the low economic status and equally low academic quality of teachers in the 1950's. One reason for the negative image of teachers at that time was the heritage of the normal schools at which teachers were trained. Sixty percent of all teachers in the 1930's and 1940's were normal school graduates. The 1950's was a period of bitter criticism of the pre-war education system, a central feature of which were the normal schools. This appears to be the main reason for the internal split in people's attitudes toward teachers at that time.

What was the status of teachers in 1975? The 1975 survey was conducted as part of a survey on social stratification and social mobility (SSM). 1800 people were selected at random and interviewed by a group of sociologists led by Kenichi Tominaga.[12] A rating of the status of 82 occupations was conducted. In this rating, elementary school teachers ranked 18th among the 82 occupations. The highest ranking occupation was court judge,

Table 10. The Occupational Rating in 1975.

Rank	Occupations	Scores	Rank	Occupations	Scores
1	Court Judge	87.3	39	Businessman	49.4
3	University Professor	83.5	40	Merchant	48.9
4	Medical Doctor	82.7	44	Carpenter	45.3
6	High Bureaucrat	80.6	45	Barber	45.0
9	Elementary School Principal	73.6	46	Farmer	45.0
10	Public Accountant	73.0	48	Clerk	43.1
13	Business Executive	65.9	49	Tailor	42.9
15	Pharmacist	65.4	52	Salesman	42.3
18	Elementary School Teacher	62.9	57	Taxi Driver	40.6
19	Architect	62.7	64	Latheman	37.3
21	Mechanical Engineer	61.0	66	Fisherman	35.9
			68	Canvassing Agent	35.4
			77	Peddler	28.1

23	Civil Service Administrator	60.4	78	Miner	28.1
25	Buddhist Priest	58.7	81	Road Worker	26.7
33	Policeman	54.2	82	Charcoal Burner	23.4

Source: Kenichi Tominaga, ed., *Nippon no Kaiso Kozo (The Structure of Social Stratification in Japan)*. (Tokyo: The University of Tokyo Press, 1979), p.446.

with a score of 87.3, while charcoal burners (there are still some left in mountainous rural areas) remained at the bottom of the occupational hierarchy with a score of 23.4. The average occupational prestige score was 50.4, about that for a nursery school teacher.

However, the average score in this rating did not necessarily reflect the median position among these 82 occupations, since 78 percent of the total number of workers were engaged in ooccupations ranked lower than 50.0. In this sense, elementary school teachers belonged in the top one-fifth in terms of occupational prestige. It should be remembered that high school teachers have more prestige than elementary schools teachers, in a position somewhere in between the rating for elementary school teachers and elementary school principals.

The image of teachers in the 1970's seemed more favorable and attractive than that in the 1950's. According to another survey done by SSM members, the profession of elementary school teacher was ranked third among twenty other occupations.[13] In this rating, the most desirable occupations were given a 5, while the least desirable were given a 1. The following table presents the results of the study.

Table 11. Relative Attractiveness of 20 Occupations.

Rank	Occupations	Scores	Rank	Occupations	Scores
1	Mechanical Engineer	3.58	11	Fashion Designer	2.75
2	Medical Doctor	3.54	12	Automobile Mechanic	2.73
3	Elementary School Teacher	3.36	13	Farmer	2.71
4	Businessman in a Major Company	3.32	14	Policeman	2.61
5	High Bureaucrat	3.21	15	Hair Dresser	2.61
6	Company Executive	3.21	16	Latheman	2.41
7	Factory Manager	3.03	17	Cook	2.41
8	Journalist	2.96	18	Printer	2.40
9	Retail Dealer	2.85	19	Salesman	2.31
10	Carpenter	2.79	20	Taxi Driver	2.24

Source: Kenichi Tominaga, ed., Nippon no Kaiso Kozo, p. 422.

These scores show a high correlation between occupational attractiveness and prestige. However, such occupations as high bureaucrat, journalist, and salesman were not considered very attractive in spite of their high ratings in terms of prestige. In contrast, the attractiveness of such jobs as mechanical engineer and businessman in a major company was high. These occupations were rated high in attractiveness but low in prestige. The job of elementary school teacher can be considered one of these jobs rated low in prestige but high in attractiveness.

As this survey indicates, 42.7 percent of 2724 people interviewed answered that the most important factor in determining an occupation's attractiveness is whether or not it enables one to express one's capabilities to the fullest.[14] The second important factor is the relative stability of employment within a particular occupation (19.1 percent), and third is the factor of high income (16.2 percent). Therefore, what lies at the heart of an occupation's attractiveness is the potential for self-actualization through engaging in that occupation. Since elementary school teaching was ranked third of twenty other occupations, we can conclude that most respondents felt it to offer the possibility of a high degree of self-actualization.

On the face of things, it would seem that the occupational status of the teaching profession had gone up in the twenty year period between 1955 and 1975. However, one of the members of the SSM research group points out that there is a positive correlation between occupational prestige scores in 1955 and 1975.[15] In other words, if the parameters of the 1975 survey of occupational prestige were similar to those of the 1955 survey, elementary school teachers would have received a similar rating. Thus, the occupational prestige of the teaching profession has not risen as much as we might expect. Elementary school teaching remains in about the middle-upper range of the occupational status structure.

At the same time, we should note that some other factors relevant to the occupational status of teachers have changed during the past twenty to thirty years. First, the number of years of education and training required for the obtaining of a teaching certificate has dramatically increased since the 1950's. Second, teachers' salaries have risen as one of the measures designed to secure competent educational personnel. These improvements have helped change the negative image associated with teaching as a job. Further, as the upgrading of the quality of teachers continues through the administering of competitive examinations, so too will rise the status attached to the profession.

One factor that may negatively affect the attractiveness of the teaching profession is the public service-mindedness required of those going into the schools. Many Japanese consider the aspect of public service as one feature contributing to making an occupation less attractive. Only 4.2 percent of the 2724 people interviewed in the 1975 survey said that interest in the public's welfare was an element in deciding whether or not they would choose a particular occupation.[16] A similar result was obtained in a 1983 survey on the purposes of work conducted by the Japan Productivity Center. Only 4.5 percent on newly-employed workers regarded social service as one of the most significant aspects of their work.[17] The ideal of public service seems fairly remote for most young Japanese workers. The same may be said of young teacher candidates. At the same time, society expects teachers to take responsibility for problems outside the school as well as for those inside the school. More and more parents and leaders demand that teachers demonstrate a high degree of interest in students' welfare. This responsibility and necessity for self-sacrifice serves to drive many would-be teacher candidates away from the profession.

The next decade will be a critical period for the upgrading of the status of teachers. Whether the occupational prestige and attractiveness of the teaching profession will be enhanced or not depends solely on the extent to which well-qualified young people who are not only bright, but service-oriented as well, can be brought into the profession.

Summary

The past fifteen years have been a period of major improvement in the economic conditions of the teaching profession. This change has had a highly desirable effect on the attractiveness of teaching as an occupation. There are, however, several tasks that lie ahead for Japan in improving the socio-economic status of teachers.

First, it is imperative that salaries for all teachers be improved. In the past, teachers' salaries were improved by awarding new types of allowances, such as the allowance for teachers at the compulsory education level (primary and junior high school), an allowance instituted in 1971. This allowance provides for an increase of 4 percent over the basic salaries for teachers at the elementary and junior high school level. The allowance is paid irrespective of a teacher's demonstrated ability. This is characteristic of the education system's pervasive egalitarianism, but its actual fairness is open to question.

Other allowances are paid to administrators -- assistant principals and principals -- and to designated head teachers, as well. The latter allowance is paid on the basis of merit. Nevertheless, some teachers who are union members refuse to accept the allowance, feeling it to be a violation of the teaching profession's egalitarian principles.

If new allowances are to be introduced, they must awarded in accordance with this principle, or teachers will balk at them. Along these lines, a "merit pay" system of any sort seems likely to cause problems because any such system, of necessity, will be applied to only a select few teachers. Nevertheless, "merit pay" would increase competition between teachers and possibly enhance their morale and the quality of their instruction. Merit pay seems essential to induce teachers to pursue their research activities and training, but it should never be applied as part of the salary or allowance system. If a merit pay system is introduced, it may turn out to be a barrier to future improvements in teachers' economic status.

Second, the amount and quality of training teachers have received affects the occupational prestige of teaching. The goal of college and university professors is to open and explore new areas of knowledge, but the goal of primary and secondary education teachers is to present and instill a curriculum of knowledge that is already accepted. Some way must be found to bridge the wide gap between the material teachers learn in colleges and universities and the material they are required to teach in the public schools. Moreover, there is a difference between the amount and character of knowledge elementary school teachers are expected to master and that knowledge mastered by senior high school teachers. Senior high school teachers are required to specialize in one field of study, while elementary school teachers are required to have command of a broader but shallower range of knowledge. This difference is reflected in the salary schedules of elementary and senior high school teachers. Senior high school teachers' salaries increase at a fast rate than those for elementary and junior high school teachers. This seems contradictory to the "egalitarian" principle of the teaching profession, since elementary and junior high school teachers must spend the same amount of time in preservice training.

In short, improvement of the economic and occupational status of teachers rests primarily on the duration and quality of preservice training in the colleges and universities. Improvement in this area will hinge on establishment of specialized graduate schools of education which will provide opportunities for further research and refinement of professional educational procedures. With this upgrading of training facilities for Japanese teachers, teaching will move that much closer to consideration as a full-fledged profession.

Footnotes

1 *Kyoiku Sho Roppo (Compendium of Educational Laws)* (Tokyo: Gakuyo Shobo, 1985), p. 795.

2 These figures are based upon the material sent from The Prefectural Board of Education in Tokyo.

3 *Kyoiku Sho Roppo*, p. 795.

4 Material from the Tokyo Prefectural Board of Education.

5 The National Tax Administration Agency, *Zeimu Tokei kara mita Minkan Kyuyo no Jittai (Actual Salaries of Wage-earners seen from Taxation Statistics)*, 1985, p. 12.

6 *Ibid.*

7 The Salaried Man Party, *Sarariman Hakusho*, p. 23.

8 *Ibid.*, p. 182.

9 *Ibid.*, p. 184.

10 *Ibid.*, p. 55. As of April 1984, the total number of local public service personnel is 3.23 million and that of educational public service personnel is about 1.0 million.

11 Tsuneo Hosoya, ed., *Kyoshi no Shakaiteki Chii (The Social Status of Teachers)* (Tokyo: Yuhikaku, 1956), p. 53.

12 Kenichi Tominaga, ed., *Nippon no Kaiso Kozo (The Structure of Social Stratification in Japan)* (Tokyo: The University of Tokyo Press, 1979), pp. 26-29.

13 Hideo Okamoto, "Shokugyo no Miryoku Hyoka no Bunseki (An Analysis of The Evaluation of Occupational Attractiveness)," in Tominaga, ed., *Nippon no Kaiso Kozo*, pp. 421-33.

14 *Ibid.*, p. 429.

15 Yu Naoi, "Shokugyoteki Chii Shakudo no Kosei (The Construction of Occupational Status Scales)" in Tominaga, ed., *Nippon no Kaiso Kozo*, pp. 463-65.

16 Okamoto, "Shokugyo no Miryoku Hyoka no Bunseki," p. 429.

17 Somucho (Bureau of General Affairs), *Seishonen Hakusho (White Paper on Adolescence)*, 1985, p. 89.

CHAPTER VI

VARIABILTY OF THE QUALITY OF TEACHER CANDIDATES

During the past thirty years, the economic conditions, social status, and attractiveness of the teaching profession has been increasing steadily and substantially. Clearly, the Law Governing Special Measures for Securing Competent Educational Personnel enacted in 1974 has played a significant role in enhancing the economic status of teachers. The fact that, out of two-hundred thousand applicants, only one out of five passed teacher employment examinations indicates how keen is the competition to become a public school teacher. Even the image of teachers has changed, mostly for the better, over the past thirty years.

The typical image of the teacher during the 1950's was presented in 1956 by Michio Nagai, who became the Minister of Education in the mid-1970's. Teachers then, according to Nagai, were characterized by their mediocrity.[1] Among all students who entered national colleges and universities, those entering colleges of education were at the lowest level of academic achievement.[2] Most teacher candidates at that time regarded teaching as an occupation choice of last resort. Also, at that time, the prevailing view was that the least qualified students became teachers. Therefore, the truly competent students in colleges of education sought jobs in business, journalism, in the universities themselves, or in any other field besides teaching in the schools. Those were the days when the idea of training teachers in the colleges and universities was quite new and efforts to improve the social standing of teachers only beginning.

Thirty years after Nagai's criticisms, the image of teachers has changed to a significant degree. Even though exact data are not available, the average score on the Common Primary College Entrance Examination achieved by students entering national colleges of education is not much lower than scores achieved by students entering other colleges, such as medicine, the sciences, engineering, agriculture, law, economics, and literature. Nevertheless, education students' scores remain the lowest among students entering the various divisions of Japanese national universities. Students studying at colleges of education do not generally consider teaching to be an occupation of last resort, but rather choose the profession deliberately as one of the more attractive occupations for a working person. This is especially true in the mid-1980's. People do not regard college graduates entering the teaching profession as less capable than other college graduates. Instead, they regard as less competent those graduates of colleges of education who sought but could not find jobs as teachers. In the 1980's, teaching has become as attractive and prestigious a career as those of journalist, businessman, and engineer.

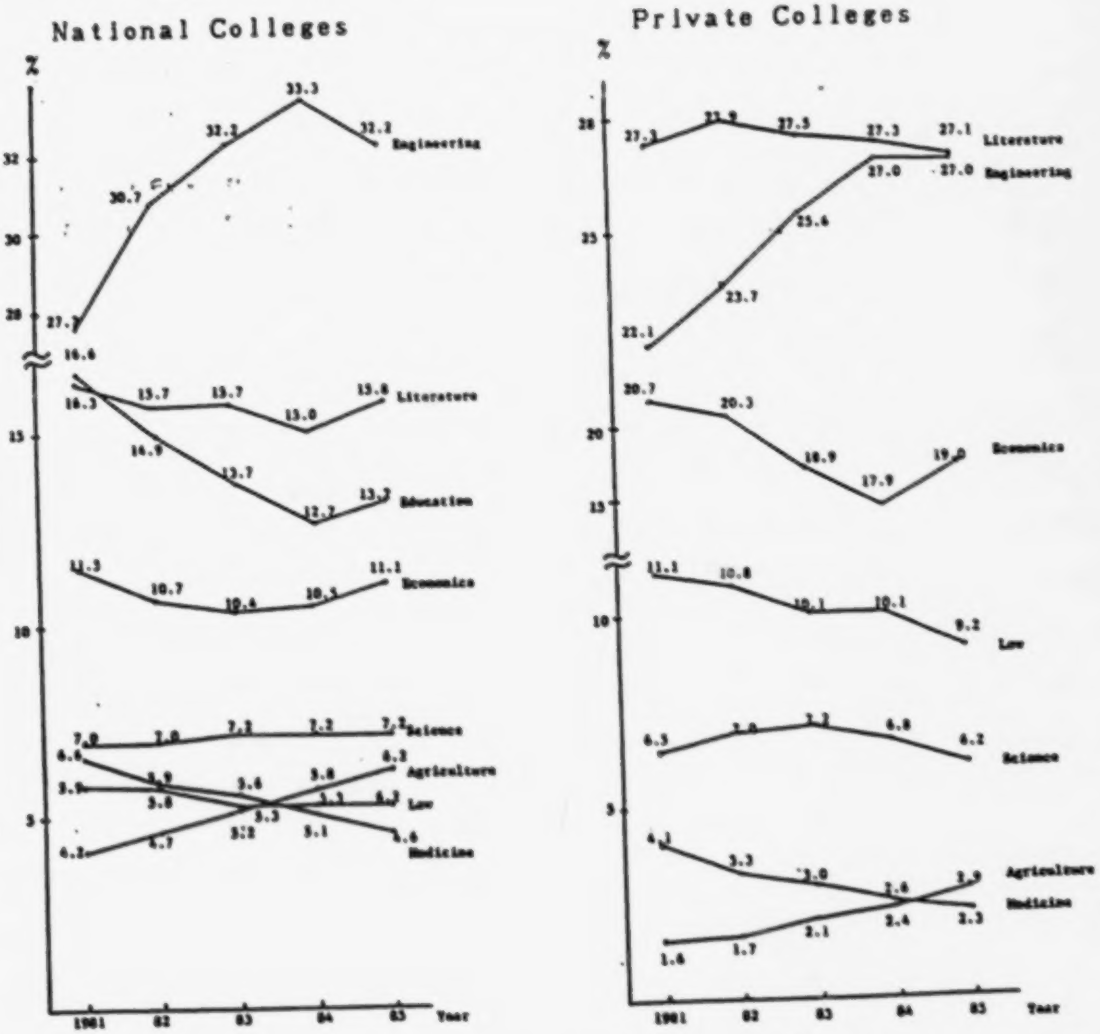
However, the future of the teaching profession is not necessarily as bright as the above improvements in teachers' status might lead us to believe. In order to examine the future of the profession, we need to consider present social and educational factors affecting the prestige and attractiveness of teaching. In so doing, we can tell which factors are positively contributing to improvements in the quality of teacher candidates, the basis of any improvements in the status of the profession as a whole.

Future Teacher Demand and Its Impact upon the Quality of Teacher Candidates

It well-known that high school students preparing for college entrance examinations are particularly sensitive to changes in job prospects for future college graduates. When they learn that the number of graduates from colleges of engineering employed by major companies is expected to drop markedly, the number of applicants to colleges of engineering will also drop significantly. The same can be said of applicants to colleges of education. If employment prospects in education do not look promising, high school graduates will quickly start casting around for colleges leading to careers in fields besides education.

In fact, high school seniors' fears about declining demand in education for the next decade have already been reported in the booklets and magazines published by the major juku schools. This apprehension and anxiety has been reflected in a decrease in the number of applicants to colleges of education. The tendency has been conspicuous for the past three or four years. The following figure indicates the transition in ratios of high school graduates who wish to enter national colleges of education and other colleges.

Figure 1. The Ratios of Applicants for Colleges of Various Major Fields in the Mogi Shiken (Examination Simulation) Held by Juku Schools.



Note: The number of applicants for these mogi shiken are as follows.

	National Colleges	Private Colleges
1981	100,624	208,149
1982	119,44	242,149
1983	123,704	251,772
1984	139,845	278,818
1985	160,174	329,759

Source: Kawaijuku, 1986 Daigaku Nyushi Kenkyukai Shiryo (Data of Study Group for College Entrance Examination in 1986), 1985, pp. 4-5.

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The figure indicates a conspicuous decline in applicants for colleges of education since 1982. Colleges of education seem to be losing ground in attracting applications from high school seniors, partly because students have got wind of decreasing prospects for employment for education college graduates. It should be recalled that the number of new teachers employed by all prefectures went down dramatically in 1983.[3] The decline in number of newly-employed teachers went hand-in-hand with the decline in number of students taking the *mogi shiken* examination preparation courses. Since the number of applicants who took part in the *mogi shiken* was only one-third of the total number of applicants for national colleges and universities, this may not exactly reflect the general trend. Still, there must be a relationship between the decline in the number of newly-employed teachers and the decline in the number of applicants to national colleges of education.

As this figure also indicates, the application rate to national colleges of medicine has also been declining, a pattern also seen at private medical colleges. This decline is partly due to reports that the employment prospects for medical college graduates in hospitals and other medical institutions will be reduced in the forseeable future. Some private dental colleges, as well, have been cutting back on enrollments in the face of a similar forecast for dental graduates. In contrast, application rates at colleges of agriculture have been rising as reports of an increasing demand for agricultural researchers and specialists in biotechnology have been published. Colleges of economics and engineering continue to attract large numbers of applicants. These two types of colleges are generally considered structurally-oriented toward major portions of the job market. Thus, college applicants are strongly influenced by vicissitudes of the job market and employment prospects upon graduation.

In light of the projected decrease in the number of newly-employed teachers in the next decades, it seems likely that the quality of future teacher candidates will be adversely affected. Colleges of education will find themselves having to restructure their curricula and educational goals. Colleges of education have long been considered professional institutions designed solely to train future teachers. However, their actual function has, from the beginning, been different from that of medical colleges, whose purpose of producing doctors has always been clear.[4] On the other hand, colleges of education have not and probably will never be able to claim a monopoly over the preparation of future teachers. Students graduating from other colleges are able to obtain teaching certificates under the open system of teacher certification. All graduates of medical colleges are expected to become physicians or surgeons, while some graduates of colleges of education are expected not to become schoolteachers. Yet many professors at colleges of education firmly believe their mission is to train teachers, and they regard students who do not become teachers as deviants who threaten the very existence of preservice teacher training institutions. Similarly, there is the popular belief that graduates of colleges of education who do not become teachers are somehow inferior to those who do.

However, this view seems outmoded and is due for change during the next decade. Soon it is likely that more than half of all graduates from colleges of education will simply be unable to find jobs in teaching, and will be forced to seek employment in other fields. In 1984, some 40 percent of all graduates from teacher training institutions found work in fields outside of teaching.[5] This statistic clearly illustrates the challenge colleges of education now face to their status as institutions for preservice teacher training. In response to this challenge, Tokushima University has opted to integrate their college of education into a new type of liberal arts college called, in this case, the College of Comprehensive Sciences (Sogo Kagaku Bu). This remodelling of the University may be the forerunner of similar changes in the structure of Japanese universities. Also, some colleges of education are planning to establish new liberal arts divisions which will prepare education college students to enter other fields if they find themselves unable to enter the teaching profession. The future of these colleges depends on the development of unique curricula and the expansion of employment opportunities for graduates.

Another type of restructuring can be found in the establishment of new courses such as Teaching of Japanese as a Foreign Language and Computer Science Education. As Table 1 indicates, the number of teachers teaching Japanese to foreign students and businessmen is rapidly increasing. The demand for those teachers in 1992 is projected to be four times as great as it was in 1983.[6] In the year 2000, demand is anticipated to be eleven times as great as it was in 1983. Yet, in 1983, there were only 40 institutions training teachers of Japanese, with a total enrollment of around 2000 students. If the projected demand for teachers of Japanese is to be met in the year 2000, then new courses for the training of Japanese teachers will have to be established in a systematic and deliberate way.

Table 1. The Number of Teachers who Teach Japanese as a Foreign Language.

	1983	1992	2000
Number of Foreign Students & Businessman	12,200	50,100	142,500
Number of Teachers who Teach Japanese	2,200	8,700	24,900

Source: The Committee on Employment Problems at Kagawa University, Kyoin Yoseikei Daigaku.Gakubu no Shushoku Mondai ni kansuru Chosa Kento Hokokusho (A Report Concerning the Investigation of Employment Problems Related to Colleges of Education], 1985, p. 72.

Computer science may be another savior of colleges of education, providing an opportunity to develop new departments and curricula. These departments may not be able offer certificates in the teaching of computer science because the Ministry of Education does not as yet include computer science as one of the required courses at the level of compulsory education. Students majoring in computer science, however, will have more access to business and high technology jobs. Moreover, if students in other departments take course in computer science, it will enhance their understanding of the use of computers in the classroom. For example, Tokyo Gakugei University (a national university), instituted its Department of Computer Science in 1982 and has been promoting it as one of the most promising departments in the University.[7] This type of department is likely to be developed in the various colleges of education located in major cities which can offer graduates jobs utilizing their computer-related skills.

Thus, colleges of education are turning their attention to the development of alternatives to traditional teacher preparation curricula in order to deal with the decline in opportunities for recent graduates in education. Still, the alternatives listed above do not seem sufficient to find employment for the more than one-third of all education college graduates who fail to find employment as schoolteachers. Unless the colleges can find more opportunities in education for their graduates, fewer and fewer high school seniors will choose education as their intended career, and the overall quality of Japan's future teachers will suffer as a result.

Social and Educational Problems Affecting the Quality of Teacher Candidates

In addition to the recent decline in number of newly-hired teachers, the rising pattern of violence and vandalism in the schools has had an especially negative affect on the image of teachers in general. In particular, the image of the schools affects students' choice of college and choice of job after college. School violence has emerged as one of the leading problems in the Japan of the 1980's, but the problem is not new.

Immediately after World War II, violence and vandalism was widespread throughout the country, in the wake of war-time chaos and discrediting and destruction of old values. The problem became deeply-ingrained in student sub-culture. The magnitude of the problem, however, was fairly limited. In the late 1970's and 1980's, the nature of the problem began to change. Discipline in the schools began to deteriorate and students began to turn on each other in the form of bullying, baiting, and torturing, the so-called problem of *ijime*. The problem seems to be connected with extreme competition in Japanese schools, the "exam war", or *juken senso*, and the tension and anxiety that many students feel, along with the fear of imminent failure.

One of the most serious results of this wide-spread phenomenon of bullying and violence, especially in the junior high schools, is that public school teaching is losing its attractiveness among college graduates. Many would-be teachers tend to shy away from taking junior high school employment examinations, especially female candidates, in an understandable desire to avoid descending into the maelstrom. Moreover, teachers are often the target of criticism for failing to take responsibility for disciplining students and preventing incidents of bullying and other violence. This responsibility is sometime such a heavy burden that teachers decide to quit the schools, or far worse, to commit suicide out of despair at the ability to cope with the problem. From 1978 to 1981, 387 teachers committed suicide.[8] As Katsumata and others reported, one of the main features of teachers' suicides is the high correlation between psychological

Table 2. The Reasons for Teachers' Suicides (1978-1981).

	A	B	C	D	E	F	Total
Male	99 (33.7%)	88 (29.9%)	12 (4.1%)	18 (6.1%)	67 (22.8%)	10 (3.4%)	294 (100.0%)
Female	26 (28.0%)	21 (22.6%)	15 (16.1%)	6 (6.5%)	25 (26.8%)	-	93 (100.0%)
Total	125 (32.3%)	109 (28.2%)	27 (7.0%)	24 (6.2%)	92 (23.7%)	10 (2.6%)	387 (100.0%)

Key: A: Disease (including psychosomatic disorders), B: Work Problems, C: Troubles with Other Sex, D: Family Problems, E: Others, F: Unknown.

Source: Eiji Katsumata, et al, eds., Kyoshi no Jisatsu (Suicides of Teachers) (Tokyo: Yuhikaku, 1983), p.24.

distress and work. In particular, many teachers suffer depression and fatigue from the combination of teaching and student guidance responsibilities. Whenever a teacher or administrator commits suicide, the dark and distressing aspects of the teaching profession are suddenly opened to public scrutiny. Obviously, the stressful and deteriorating atmosphere of the public schools is doing little to encourage young people to enter teaching. As the public's expectations of what teachers should be doing grow from year to year, the pressures under which teachers work become more and more intolerable. Thus the profession continues to lose its attractiveness for college graduates deciding on a career. In order to attract the best-qualified high school students into teacher training courses, and the best college graduates into the teaching profession, steps must be taken to compensate for the negative factors of bullying, violence, and vandelism. However, the Japanese cannot expect an instant solution to the problem of attracting the best teacher candidates.

It should be noted that steps being taken to upgrade the quality of teacher education by revising the standards of teacher certification will increase the number of teachers trained past the undergraduate level. The new certification system will allow for special certification of teachers who have completed the new two-year master's programs. For the realization of this plan, two steps are necessary: first, the ammendment of present regulations concerning teacher certification and, second, the establishment of more graduate schools of education.

The committee on the Training of Educational Personnel (*Kyoyoshin*) presented a report on the amendment of the teacher certification system in 1983.[9] The main focus of this report is the three-tiered teacher certification system, composed of the rudimentary, standard, and advanced teaching certificates. The report suggests a new, advanced-level certificate for those who take 24 credits at accredited graduate schools. According to the report, the basic qualifications for granting of rudimentary and standard teaching certificates should also be altered. The

Table 3. The Revised Basic Qualifications for Teaching Certificates (Proposed).

	Elementary School			Junior High School			Senior High School	
	R* (2nd)	S** (1st)	A***	R (2nd)	S (1st)	A	S (2nd)	A (1st)
Present	30	48	-	26, 30	46, 54	-	46, 54	66, 76
Revised	38	70	94	38	66	90	66	90

* Rudimentary Certificate; ** Standard Certificate; *** Advanced Certificate.

Note: The number of credits shown in this table should be taken in the area of specialized teaching subjects and professional education subjects.

Source: Shirai, et al, eds., Shiryoshu Kyoin Yosei. Menkyoho Mondai (Collected Data: Problems of Teacher Education and Laws Concerning Teacher Certification) (Tokyo: Eidell Institute, 1984), pp. 99-104.

report suggests an increase in the number of credits taken in the areas of specialized teaching subjects and professional education subjects. Especially, the number of credits required for acquisition of a standard teaching certificate should be increased greatly. Within four years of study, students should be required to take more than 66 credits, or almost one-and-a-half times more than than the number of credits required for the acquisition of the first class certificate under the present system. However, the proposed system would burden education students with a very heavy load of coursework. The Committee also recommends eight weeks of student teaching for all undergraduates taking elementary and junior high school certificates, and six weeks for those taking high teaching certificates, or twice as much student teaching as under the present system. In short, the main goal of the report's proposals is to make acquisition of a teaching certificate more difficult by requiring undergraduate education majors to take more credits in coursework and student teaching.

The Committee's plan has not yet been implemented. The plan touches on politically sensitive issues, one of which involves the introduction of the advanced certificate. In order to realize this part of the plan, as suggested above, it is necessary to open more graduate schools of education. It would seem that the establishment of such graduate schools as the ones at Hyogo and Joetsu universities would conform to the Committee's recommendation, but it should be recalled that the primary function of these schools is to provide inservice training for teachers, and not to provide period of study contiguous with undergraduate teacher training. Further, the dozen graduate schools of education at the national universities are intended almost exclusively to advance research in education, and not to prepare teachers to go into the public schools. Thus, the present system of graduate schools of education are not appropriate vehicles for carrying forward the Committee's recommendations concerning advanced teacher training.

In other words, the Committee seems to be proposing a new type of graduate school education system which is nothing more than a scaled-up version of the undergraduate education college system presently in force. As table 4 indicates, the curricula of graduate schools of education may well turn out to be strikingly similar to those of undergraduate colleges of education. The new

Table 4. Credits Required for the Acquisition of Advanced Teaching Certificates (Proposed).

	Kindergarten	Elementary School	Junior High School	Senior High School
Professional Education Subjects	12	12	6	-
Specialized Teaching Subjects*	12	12	18	24

* The credits in this area can be substituted by the credits offered in the area of professional teaching subjects.

Source: Shirai, et al, eds., Shiryoshu Kyoin Yosei.Menkyoho Mondai, p. 104.

graduate schools of education may become another rigid and over-specialized stratum in the education hierarchy. A new system of graduate schools cannot possibly hope to realize the mission the undergraduate colleges have failed to achieve, that is, a monopoly on the training of all teachers through the granting of advanced teaching certificates. This proposal to create new graduate schools of education can be viewed as an attempt to arrogate power and authority to the colleges of education themselves. If this suspicion is valid, the plan can be criticized as a disingenuous effort to revive the old normal school system in the guise of advanced graduate education. In sum, the plan of the Committee on the Training of Educational Personnel seems unfeasible for the time being. The introduction of advanced teaching certificates needs more time to be actualized.

Thus far, we have been examining the possibility of establishing new types of graduate schools of education which aim primarily at the issuing of advanced teaching certificates. In spite of the apparent unfeasibility of this plan, we should recognize how much colleges of education are doing in a continuing effort to upgrade their status in the higher education system. For many colleges of education, the establishment of a graduate division is a matter of some urgency, an important means of upgrading their undergraduate divisions to the status of research-oriented institutions. Even though these colleges may establish two-year master's program in the near future, it is unlikely that they will be willing to accept active teachers who wish to pursue their inservice training at the graduate level. These colleges do not want to become teacher education centers. This view is not stated explicitly but can be understood by the stress the colleges lay on rigorous admissions policies and on the requirement that degree candidates write a master's thesis.

Summary

There seems to be little possibility of improving the quality of Japanese teacher candidates within the next decade, mainly because of the dim employment outlook for teachers in the forseeable future. In addition, the recent deterioration in the school environment concommitent with the rise in school violence and bullying has been so marked, and the incompetence of teachers to deal with the problem so notorious that the public schools have become, for many young people, a distinctly unattractive place to work. On the other hand, increasing opportunities for inservice training at newly-established graduate schools may have a very positive influence on teachers' abilities to confront these problems and to improve the quality of their instruction. Yet, the establishing of new graduate programs and the augmenting of inservice teacher training will not automatically increase the prestige of teaching as an occupation and thereby increase the number of teacher candidates.

On a more optimistic note, teacher quality may be improved as fewer new teachers are employed and the competition on teacher employment examinations increases and only the most qualified applicants are selected. But this can only be viewed as a transitory phenomenon, one that will have no lasting effect on the quality of the pool of applicants itself. If the colleges of education, the largest reservoir of teacher candidates, can find some way to cope with this period of poor employment prospects for graduates, they must expand their efforts to open other avenues of employment to them. At the same time, the colleges should upgrade the extent and quality of their research activities which, in turn, will improve the colleges' reputation in general. The graduate schools of education must also take steps to transform themselves into service-oriented institutions through which working teachers can pursue their professional objectives and career goals.

Colleges of education are facing a most critical period in which they are challenged with the task of re-creating themselves into genuine professional institutions. Success in this endeavor depends on the creative imagination and flexibility of those concerned with the education of Japan's future teachers.

Footnotes

1 Michio Nagai, ed., Kyoshi Kono Genjitsu (The Teacher: This Reality) (Tokyo: Sanichi Shobo, 1957), pp. 177-97.

2 Ibid., p. 182. The following table shows the average scores of shingaku tekisei kensa(Scholastic Aptitude Test) sponsored by the Ministry of Education, (1954):

Rank	Colleges	Scores
1	Science	51.2
2	Medicine	49.14
3	Economics	48.0
4	Engineering	47.7
5	Law	44.7
6	Pharmacy	45.0
7	Literature	44.0
8	Agriculture	40.1
9	Education	34.5

3 The Ministry of Education, Kyoiku Iinkai Geppo (Monthly Review of Board of Education), No. 416, 1985, p. 68.

4 Tetsuya Kobayashi, ed., Kyoin Yosei o Kangaeru (Thoughts on Teacher Education) (Tokyo: Keiso Shobo, 1982), p. 174.

5 The Committee on Employment Problems at Kagawa University, Kyoin Yoseikei Daigaku.Gakubu no Shushoku Mondai ni kansuru Chosa Kento Hokokusho (A Report Concerning the Investigation of Employment Problems Related to Colleges of Education), 1985, p.1.

6 Ibid., pp. 71-74.

7 1985 Gakusei Binran (1985 College Catalogue), Tokyo Gakugei University, pp. 35-36.

8 Eiji Katsumata, et al, eds., Kyoshi no Jisatsu (Suicides of Teachers) (Tokyo: Yuhikaku, 1983), pp.22-35.

9 Shirai, et al. eds., Shiryoshu Kyoin Yosei.Menkyoho Mondai (Collected Data: Problems of Teacher Education and Laws Concerning Teacher Certification) (Tokyo: Eidell Institute, 1984), pp. 99-104.

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